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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD -- OU! COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

BOSTON, FRIDAY. AUGUST 4. 1848.

From the Boston Mercantile Journal. SPEECH OF HORACE MANN ON THE SLAVE QUESTION.

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We have received from Washington, a copy the speech of Horace Mann of Massachusetts, on the right of Congress to legislate for the Territories of the United States, and its duty to exclude Slavery there rom, which was delivered in the House of presentatives, in Committee of the Whole, June 30, 1848, which, as one of the most important documents of the day, whether with regard to its immediate interest, or as a matter of reference hereafter, we hasten to lay before our readers.

Mr. Chairman :- I have listened with interest, both yesterday and to-day, to speeches on what is called the 'Presidental question.' I propose to discuss a question of far greater magnitude—the question of the age—one, whose consequences will not end with the ensuing four years, but will react forward to the setting of the sun of time. Sir our position is this:—The United States finds itself the owner of a vast region of country

the West, now almost vacant of inhabitants. Parts of this region are salubrious and fertile. We have reason to suppose that, in addition to the treasures of wealth which industry may gather from its surface, there are mineral treasures be-neath it, riches garnered up of old in subterranean hambers, and only awaiting the application of intelligence and skill to be converted into the n of human improvement and happiness. T regions, it is true, lie remote from our place of residence. Their shores are washed by another sea, and it is no figure of speech to say that another sky heads over them. So remote are they, that their hours are not as our hours, nor their day as our day; and yet, such are the wonderful improvements in art, in modern times, as to make it no rash anticipation that before this century shall have closed, the inhabitants on the Atlantic shores will sable to visit their brethren on the Pacific, in ten days; and that intelligence will be transmitted and returned, between the Eastern and Western oceans, in ten minutes. That country, therefore, will be rapidly filled, and we shall be brought into stigrate relations with it; and, notwithstanding its

distance, into proximity to it.

Now in the providence of God, it has fallen to our lot to legislate for this unoccupied, or but partially occupied expanse. Its great Future hangs upon our decision. Not only degrees of latitude and topin our decision. Not only degrees of launder and longitude, but wast tracts of time—ages and centuries—seem at our disposal. As are the institutions which we form and establish there, so will be the men whom these institutions, in their turn, will form. Nature works by fixed laws; but we can bring this or that combination of circumstances under the operation of her laws, and thus deter-mine results. Here springs up our responsibility. One class of institutions will gather there one class of men who will develop one set of characteristics; another class of institutions will gather there another class of men who will develop other characteristics. Hence, their futurity is to depend apon our present course. Hence, the acts we are to perform, seem to partake of the nature of creation, rather than legislation. Standing upon the elevation which we now occupy, and looking over into that empty world, 'yet void,' if not 'without form,' but soon to be filled with multitudinous life, and reflexing more particles to give form and and reflecting upon our power to give form and character to that life, and almost to fore-ordain what it shall be. I feel as though it would be no ence to compare our condition to that of the world; for we, like Him, can engraft one set of at-tributes, or another set of attributes, upon a whole race of men. In approaching this subject, there fore, I feel a sense of respons

ests which it embraces.

As far as the time allowed me will permit, 1 propose to discuss two questions; the first is,—whether Congress can lawfully begislate on the subject

[Mr. Mann here entered into a masterly argument, supported by a multitude of facts, quotations and precedents, to show, that so far as the uniform practice of sixty years can settle a doubtful, or confirm an admitted right, this power of legislating over the territories has been taken from the region of doubt, and established upon the basis of acknowledged authority. In legislating for all that is now Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana and Florida, Congress has legislated on the subject of slavery in the territories. Sixty years of legis-lation on one side, and not a denial of the right on the other. Mr. Mann then proceeds as fol-

gone into this detail, because I understand the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Bayly) to have denied this adoption and these recognitions of the ordinance. I hazard nothing in saying that the ordinance of 1787 has been expressly referred to as valid, or expressly or impliedly re-enacted a dozen times by the Congress of the U. States; and, in the State courts of Ohio, Illinois, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Missouri, it has been adjudged to be con-stitutional. How, then, is it possible for any mind amenable to legal rules for the decision of legal questions, to say that Congress cannot legislate, or

concluding remark to submit. The position I am contesting affirms generally that Congress cannot legislate on the subject of Slavery in the Territo

Now, if these declarations were a sincere and them and honor their authors. Did this doctrine grow out of a jealousy for the rights of man, four of usurpation, an assertion of the principle of self-government, I should sympathize with it, while I denied its legality. But, sir, it is the most painful aspect of this whole case, that the very object and purpose of claiming these ample and sovereign rights for the inhabitants of the Territories, is, that they may deny all rights to a portion of their fel-low-beings within them. Enlarge, aggrandize the rights of the territorial settlers! And why? That the purpose of making freemen more free, but for making slaves more enslaved. The reason for denying to Congress the power to legislate for the Territories, is the fear that Congress will prevent slavery in them. The reason for claiming the supreme right of legislation for the territorial inhabitation of the supreme right of legislation for the territorial inhabitation. tants, is the hope that they will establish slavery within their borders. Must not that Democracy be false, which begets slavery as its natural off-

age of nineteen, he lived for some time in Richter the wrote a letter of which the following is an extract:

There is one object here which always degreeshes me. It is slavery. This alone would prevent me from ever setting in Virginia. Language cannot express my detestation of it. Master and slave! Nature never made such a distinction of eartablished such a relation. Man, when forced to substitute the will of another for his own, ceases to be a moral agent; his tide to the name of man is extinguished; he becomes a mere machine in the hands of his oppressor. No empire is so valuable as the empire of one's self. No right is so inseparable from humanity, and so necessary to the improvement of our species, as the right of exerting the powers which nature has given us in the pursuit of any and of every good which we can obtain without doing injury to others. Should you desire it, I will give you some iden of the situation and character of the negroes in Virginia. It is a subject so degrading to humanity, that I cannot dwell on it with pleasure. I should be obliged to show you every vice, heightened by every meanness, and added to every misery. The influence of slavery on the whites, is almost as fistal as on the blacks themselves.

This was written fifty years age, by a young man from New England, only uineteen years old. I know that, our all subjects of philanthropy and etit.c., Dr. Channing was half a century in advance of his age. But the sentiments be expressed on this subject, at the closs of the lace country, are now the prevalent, deep-sea ted feelings of Northern men, excepting, per laps, a tow cases, where these feelings have been corrupted brinkens. It is always that the relative of the constitution of the state of the territory. But the article excluding slavery from it had an earlier date than 87. On the 1st of introducing slavery, more effectually than the South will shou tut the North by the fact of introducing slavery, more effectually than the South will shou tut the North by the fact of introducing

whereof the party shall have been convicted to have muscles; he destroys the spirit that moves the

slavery,) in the ordinance of 1787. Sir, it is a mismoner to call this restrictive clause the 'William or Proviso.' It is the Jefferson Proviso, and Mr. Jefferson should have the honor of it; and would to Heaven, that our Southern friends, who kneel so dovoutly at his shrine, could be animated by that lofty spirit of freedom, that love for the rights of man, which alone can make the place of their descriptions. If a tenant is to be no better off for the improvements he makes the significance of New York—the anti-rent Look at the seigniories of New York—the anti-rent man, which alone can 'make the place of their devotion sacred.

But what is most material to be observed here, is, that the plan of government reported by Mr. Jefferson, and acted upon by the Congress at that time, embraced all the 'Western territory,' it embraced all the 'Western territory,' it embraced all the 'territory ceded or to be ceded, by individual States to the United States.' See Journal of Congress, April 23, 1784. If, then, we leave out Kentucky and Tennessee, as being parts of Virginia and North Carolina, all the residue of the territory, North or South of the Ohio river, within the treaty limits of the United States, was intended, by the Jefferson Proviso, to be rescued from the doom of slavery. For that proviso, there were sixteen votes, and only seven against it. Yet so singularly were these seven votes distributed, and

ing to us at the adoption of the Constitution; while only one free State, Iowa, has been added during all this time, out of such newly acquired territory.

But there is another fact, which shows that the slaveholders have already had their full share of this country may hereafter become.

I have seen the number of actual slaveholders.

level, by their out-pouring flood? Abolish those sources of wealth, which consist in the personal industry of every man, and of each member of every man's family, and that wide-spread thrift and competence and elegance, which are both the reward and the stimulus of labor, will be abolished with them. Forego the means, and you foreit the end. You must use the instrument, if you would have the product. Nothing but the feeling of independence, the conscious security of working for one's self and one's family, will, in the present state of the world, make labor profitable.

I know it has been recently said, in this Capitol, and by high authority, that, with the exception of menial services, it is not disreputable at the South for a white man to labor. There are two ways each independent of the other, to disprove this assertion. One of them consists in the testimony of a host of intelligent witnesses acquainted with the condition of things at the South. I might quote page after page from various sources; but, as the assertion comes from a gentleman belonging to the same. State. I refer to Mr. William Gregz, of Charles, with the social condition of men both North and South.

In that Sinte, according to the last census, there

state. I reter to Mr. whimm Gregg, of Charles ton, a gentleman who is extensively acquainted with the social condition of men both North and South.

In that State, according to the last census, there were about 150,000 free whites, over tueive years of age. 'Of this class,' says Mr. Gregg, 'fifty thousand are non-producers.' I suppose South Carolina to be as thrifty a slave State as there is, perhaps excepting Georgia. Yet here is one-third part of the population, old enough to work and able to work, who are idle—and of course vicious; non-producers, but the worst kind of consumers.

Another answer to the above assertion is, that if white labor were reputable at the South, and white men were industrious, the whole country would be a garden, a terrestrial paradise, so far as neatness, abundance, and beauty are concerned. Where are the results of this respected and honored while labor? In a country where few expenses are necessary to ward off the rigors of winter; where the richest staples of the world are produced; where cattle and flocks need but tittle shelter, if any; if man superaided his industry to the bounties of nature, want would be wholly unknown; competence would give place to opulence, and the highest decorations of art would mingle with the glowing beauties of nature. But hear Mr. Gregg:

'My recent visit to the Northern States has fully satisfied me that the true secret of our difficulties lies is the want of energy on the part of those who ought to labor. We need never look for thrift while we permit our immense timber forests, granite quarries, and mines to lie idle; and supply ourselves with hewn granite, pine boards, laths, shingles, &c., furnished by the lazy dogs of ancient idea of a river-god; he stands by the Pen-

supply ourselves with hewn granite, pine boards, or superstition. An intelligent man surpasses the laths, shingles, &c., furnished by the lazy dogs of ancient idea of a river-god; he stands by the Penthe North; ah, worse than this; we see our back obsect, the Kennebec, the Merrimac, or the Conlaihs, shingles, &c., jurnished by the lazy dogs of the North; ah, worse than this; we see our back country farmers, many of whom are too lazy to mend a broken gate, or repair the fences to protect their crops from the neighboring stock, actually supplied with their axe, hoe, and broom handles, pitchforks, rakes, &c., by the indolent mountaineers of New Hampshire and Massachusetts. The time was, when every old woman had her gourd, from which the country gardens were supplied with seed. We now find it more convenient to permit this duty to devolve on our careful friends, the Yankees. Even our bodt-oars and hand-spikes for rolling logs, are furnished, ready made, to our hands, &c. 'Need I add, to further exemplify our excessive indolence, that the Charleston market is supplied with fish and wild game by Northern men, who come out here as regularly as the winter comes, for this purpose, and from our own waters and forests often realize, in the course of one winter, a sufficiency to purchase a small farm in New Eugland.' Essays, page 8.

Again: 'It is only necessary to travel over the sterile mountains of Connecticut, Massachusetts, Vermont, and New Hampshire, to learn the tire even indolence and industry, extravagance and become indolence and industry, extravagance and the short end of Nature's lever; and using the between indolence and industry, extravagance and the short end of Nature's lever; and using the short end of Nature's lever; and using the

manhood, who has never passed a month in which the has not, some part of the time, been stinted for meat. Many a mother is there, who will tell you that her children are but scantily supplied with bread, and much more scantily with meat, and if they be clad with comfortable raiment, it is at the expense of these scanty allowances of food. These may be startling statements, but they are nevertheless true; and, if not believed in Charleston, least; those who had a moderate or limited education.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS THE U. S. CONSTITUTION 'A COVERANT WITH DEATH

BT 'Yes' it cannot be denied—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their slaves. The first was the rumanity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was the supulation to surrender fugitive slaves—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, Celivered from Sinat; and thirdly, the exaction fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for slaves—for articles of merchandize, under the name of persons. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is, to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, is the American Congress, and thereby to make the PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPERVATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.—John Quincy Adams. IT 'Yes' it cannot be denied—the slaveholding

J. BROWN YERRINTON, PRINTER.

WHOLE NO. 917

whites impossible. You cannot have a guaranterion without common schools. Common schools cannot exist where the population is sparse. Where slaves till the soil, or do the principal part of whatever work is done, the free population must be sparse. Slavery, then, by an inexarable law denies general education to the whites. The whites impossible. You cannot have a general ed law, denies general education to the whites. The Providence of God is just and retricutive. Create a serf caste, and debar them from education, and you necessarily debar a great portion of the privi-leged class fram education also. It is impossible leged class fram education also. It is impossible, in the present state of things, or in any state of things which can be foreseen, to have free and universal education in a slave State. The difficulty is insurmountable. For a well-organized system of common schools, there should be two hundred children, at least, living in such proximity to each other, that the oldest of them can come together to a central school. It is not enough to gather from within a circle of half a dozen miles diameter fifty or sixty children for a single school. This brings all ages and all studies into the same room. A good system requires a separation of school children into four, or at least into three, classes, according to ages and attainments. Without this gradation, a school is bereft of more than half its dren into four, or at least into three, classes, according to ages and attainments. Without this gradation, a school is bereft of more than half its efficiency. Now, this can never be done in an agricultural community, where there are two classes of men—one to do all the work, and the other to seize all the profits. With New England habits of industry, and with that diversified labor which would be sure to spring from intelligence, the State of Virginia, which skirts us here on the South, would support all the population of the New England States, and fill them with abundance.

Mr. Bayly .- We have as great a population as New England now.
Mr. Mann.—As great a population as New Eng-

Mr. Bayly .- We send fifteen Representatives. (A voice. And how many of them represent

Mr. Mann.—Massachusetts alone sends ten Rep (A voice.—And the rest of N. England twenty-

ne more.)
Mr. Mann.—I say, Sir, the single State of Virginia could support in abundance the whole population of New England. With such a free population, the school children would be so numerous, lation, the school children would be so numerous, that public schools might be opened within three or four miles of each other all over its territory—the light of each of which, blending with its neghboring lights, would illumine the whole land. They would be schools, too, in point of cheapness, within every man's means. The degrading idea of pauper schools would be discarded forever. But what is the condition of Virginia now? One quarter part of all its adult free white population are unable to read or write, and were proclaimed so by a late Governor, in his annual message, without producing any reform. Their remedy is to choose a Governor who will not proclaim such a fact. When has Virginia, in any State or national electicn, given a majority equal to the number of its tion, given a majority equal to the number of its voters unable to read or write? A republican government, supported by the two pillars of slavery

and ignorance?

In South Carolina, there is also a fund for the support of pauper schools; but this had become so useless, and was so disdained by its objects, that r late Governor of the State, in his annual mes-

sage, recommended that it should be withdrawn from them altogether.

Yet, in many of the slave States, there are beautiful paper systems of common schools—dead laws in the stgtute books—but the census tells us how profitless they have been. In 1840, in the fifteen scholars at the primary schools. In the sume class of schools, in the free States, there were 1,626,028, eight times as many. New York alone had 502,367, or two and a half times as many. The scholars in the primary schools of Ohio alone outnumbered all those in the fifteen States and territo ries by more than 17,000. In the slave States, almost one tenth part of the free white population, over twenty years of age, are unable to read and write. In the free States, less than one in one hundred and fifty; and at least four fifths of these hundred and fifty; and at least four fitties of these are foreigners, who ought not to be included in the computation. Many of the slave States, too, have munificent school funds. Kentucky has one of more than a million of dollars, Tennessee of two millions; yet, in 1837, Governor Clarke of Kentucky declared, in his message to the legislature, tucky declared, in his message to the legislature, that 'one third of the adult population were unable to write their names'; and in the State of Tennessee, according to the last census, there were 58,531 of the same description of persons. Surely it would take more than five of these to make three freemen; for the more a State has of them, the less of intelligent freedom will there be in it. And if the schools of the slave States are compared with the schools in the free States, the deficiency in quality will be as great as the deficiency in number. Sir during the last ten years I have had a most

Sir during the last ten years I have had a most extensive correspondence with the intelligent friends of education in the slave States. They yearn for progress, but they cannot obtain it. They procure laws to be passed, but there is no one to execute them. They set forth the benefits and the blessings of education, but they speak in a vacuum, and no one hears the appeal. It a parent wishes to educate his children, he must send them from home, and thus suffer a sort of becavement, while they live; or they must employ a tutor or governess in his family, which few are able to do. The rich may do it, but what becomes of the children of the poor? In cities the obstacles are the number of persons resident in cities is relatively small. All this is the inevitable consequence of slavery; and it is as impossible for free, thorough, universal education to co-exist with slavery, as for two bodies to occupy the same space at the same time. Slavery would abolish education if it should invade a free State; education would abolish slavery if it could invade a slave. State

ry if it could invade a slave State.

Destroying common education, slavery destroys
the fruits of common education—the inventive the fruits of common education—the inventive mind, practical talent, the power of adapting means to ends in the business of life. Whence have come all those mechanical and scientific improvements and inventions which have enriched the world with so many comforts, and adorned it with so many beauties; which to-day give enjoyments and luxuries to a common family in a New Engand village, which neither Queen Elizabeth, of England, nor any of her proud court, ever dreamed of, but a little more than two centuries ago? Among whom have these improvements originated? All history and experience affirm that they have come, and must come, from people among whom education is most generous and unconfined. Increase the constituency, if I may so speak, of developed intellect, and you increase, in equal ratio, the chances of inventive, creative genins. From what part of our own country have come the ap-

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But all this is tedious and superfluous. I have

has not legislated, (except once or twice inadver-tently,) on the subject of slavery in the Territories. On this part of the argument, I have only a ries. The inexpediency of so legislating is further advocated, on the ground that it is repugnant to Democratic principles to debar the inhabitants of the Territories fromgoverning themselves. Must the retritories fromgoverning themselves. Must the free men of the Territories, it is asked, have laws made for the n by others? No! It is anti-democratic, monarchical, intolerable. All men have the right of self-government; and this principle holds true in regard to the inhabitants of Territories, as well as the inhabitants of States.

honest affirmation of human rights, I should respect they may abolish all rights for a whole class of human beings. This claim, then, is not made for

If it has been demonstrated that Congress has uniformly legislated, and can legislate, on the subject of slavery in the Territories, I proceed to con-

sider the next question. Is it expedient to exclude slavery from them?

Here, on the threshold, we are confronted with the claim that the gates shall be thrown wide open to the admission of slavery into the broad Western world; because, otherwise, the Southern or slave States would be debarred from enjoying their share of the common property of the Union. I meet this claim with a counter-claim. If, on the one hand, the consecration of this soil to freedom will exclude the slaverholders of the South, it is just as true, on the other hand, that the desceration of it to slavery will exclude the free men of the North. We, of the North, know too well the foundations of worldly prosperity and happiness; we know too well the sources of social and moral welfare, ever voluntarily to blend our fortunes with those of a comunity where slavery is tolerated. If our demand for free territory, then, excludes them, their demand for slave territory excludes us. Not one in five hundred of the freemen of the North could ever be induced to take his family and domistic il himself in a territory where slavery exists. They know that the institution would impoverish their children, and harrow theirown consciences, with an ever present a sense of guilt, until those consciences, by force of habitand induration, should pass into that callous and more deplorable state, where continuous crime could be committed without the feeling of remorse.

Sir, let me read a passage from Dr. Channing, written in 1798—fifty years ago—when, at the early age of nineteen, he lived for some time in Richmond, Va., as a tottor in a private family. While there he wrote a letter of which the following is an extract:

'There is one object here which always depres-

it had an earlier date than '87. On the 1st of March, 1784, Congress voted to accept a cession from the State of Virginia of her claim to the territory northwest of the Ohio River. The subject of providing a government for this and other territoward to a committee, consisting of Mr. providing a government for this and other territory, was referred to a committee, consisting of Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Chase of Maryland, and Mr. Howell inbs, it is because of the suffering that goads limbs, it is because of the sufferin

whereof the party shall have been convicted to have been personally guilty.

Sir, we hear much said in our day, of the Wilmot Proviso against slavery. In former years, great credit has been given to Mr. Nathan Dane, of Masschusetts, for originating the 6th article, (against sachusetts, for originating the 6th article, (against the sachusetts, for originating the first provided in the sachusetts and the sachusetts are destroys the spirit that moves the muscles; and destroys the spirit that moves the muscles.

In all ages of the world, among all nations, wherever the earnings of the laborer have been personally guilty. sachusetts, for originating the 6th article, (against his earnings. Under the villeinage slavery,) in the ordinance of 1787. Sir, it is a land, the villeins were a low, idle,

doom of slavery. For that proviso, there were sixteen votes, and only seven against it. Yet so singularly were these seven votes distributed, and singularly were these seven votes distributed, and so large a majority of the States did it require to pass an act, that it was lost. The whole of the representation from seven States, voted for it unanimously against it. Had but one of Mr. Jefferson's colleagues voted with him, and had Mr. Spaight, of North Carolina, voted for it, (only nine out of twenty three,) the restrictive clause in the report would have stood. But a minority of segen from the slaveholding States controlled a majority of sixten from the free States,—ominous even at that early day of a fate that has now relentlessly pursued us for sixty years.

That vote was certainly no more than a fair representation of the feeling of the country against slavery, at that time. It was with such a feeling that the 'compromises of the Constitution,' as they are called, were entered into. Nobody dreaded or dreamed of the extension of slavery beyond its then existing limits. Yet behold its aggressive march. Besides Kentucky and Tennessee, which I omit for reasons before intimated, seven new slaves the slaves are subjected: and select, to which the slaves are subjected: and select, to which the slaves are subjected: and select, to which the slaves are subjected: and select the grow rich less rapidly than States where millious of dollars are annually expended for the comforts and conveniences of the laborer. More slow time, out of such newly acquired territory.

But there is another fact, which shows that the low of property, is the bane of property; and the more slaves wealth, the less in a value will the area for nation's wealth, the less in value will the more slaves wealth, the less in value will the arguet of that inventory of nation's wealth, the less efficient than free labor. The former can ever compete with the latter; and, while the smaller is extorted by fear. Just as certain as that the homomorphic of the

Vermont, and New Hampshire, to learn the true secret of our difficulties,—to learn the difference between indolence and industry, extravagance and economy. We there see the scenery, which would take the place of our unpainted mansions, dilapidated cabins, with mud chimneys, and no windows, broken down rail fences, fields overgrown with weeds, and thrown away half exhausted, to be taken up by pine thickets; beef cattle unprotected from the inclemency of winter, and so poor as harely to preserve life.' Essays, page 7.

And again: 'Shall we pass unnoticed the thousands of poor, ignorant, degraded white people among us, who, in this land of plenty, live in comparative nakedness and starvation? Many a one is reared in proud South Carolina, from birth to manhood, who has never passed a month in which he has not, some part of the time, been stinted for

the members of our legislature, who have traversed the State in electioneering campaigns, can attest their truth.' Essays, page 22.

After such statements as these; after the testimony of hundreds and hundreds of eye witnesses; after the proofs furnished by the aggregate of products, published in our Patent Office reports, it is drawing a little too heavily on our credulity to say that the white man at the South, is industrious. Industry proves itself by its results, as the sun proves itself by shining.

But slavery is hostile to the pecuniary advancement of the community in another way. The

But slavery is hostile to the pecuniary advancement of the community in another way. The let passes from an educated into an uneducated national slave must be kept in ignorance. He must not be educated, lest with education should come a knowledge of his natural rights, and the means of escape, or the power of vengeance. To secure the abolition of his freedom, the growth of his mind must be abolished. His education, therefore, is prohibited by statute, under terrible penalties.

fore, is prohibited by statute, under terrible penalties.

Now a man is weak in his muscles; he is strong only in his faculties. In physical strength, how much superior is an ox or a horse to a man; in fleetness, the dromedary or the eagle. It is through mental strength only that man becomes the superior and governor of all animals.

But it was not the design of Providence that the work of the world should be enforced by muscular strength. God has filled the earth and imbued the elements with energies of greater power than the treasures of mature; the cultivation of the resources of mature; the cultivation of the

the elements with energies of greater power than the treasures of nature; the cultivation of the all the inhabitants of a thousand planets like ours. Where comforts and appliances that make the difference between a houseless, wandering trite of Indians in the far West, and a New England village? dians in the far West, and a New England village?
They do not come wholly or principally from the original musasisted strength of the human arm, but from the employment, through intelligence and skill, of those great natural forces, with which the hountiful Creator has filled every part of the material universe. Caloric, gravitation, expansibility, electricity, chemical affinities and repulsions, spontaneous velocities—these are the mighty agents which the intellect of man harmesso of meaning to the car of improvement. The application of machinery, and to the transportation of meaning machinery, and to the transportation of meaning machinery, and to the transportation of meaning machinery, and to the actual products of human industry. How small the wheel which the stoutest laborer can turn, and how soon will be be weary. Compare this with a wheel driving a thousand spindles or Iooms, which a stream of water can turn, and never tire. A locomotive will take five that he can derive knowledge from his predeces-sors. We possess the accumulated learning of ages. From ten thousand confluent streams, the

down to us; and it is among our choicest delights that if we can add to its volume, as it rolls on, it will bear a richer freight of blessings to our succes-

sors. But it is proposed to annul this beneficent has of nature; to repel this proffered bounty of

sors. But it is proposed to annut has been downed in a proposed to create a race of men to whom all the lights of experience shall be extinguished; whose hundredth generation shall be as ignorant as its first.

Sir, I hold all voluntary ignorance to be a crime;

Sir, I hold all voluntary ignorance to be a crime; I hold all enforced ignorance to be a greater crime. Knowledge is essential to all rational enjoyment: it is essential to the full and adequate performance of every duty. Whoever intercepts knowledge, therefore, on its passage to a human soul; whoever strikes down the hand that is outstretched to grasp it, is guilty of one of the most heimous of offeaces. Add to your virtue, knowledge, says the Apostle; but here the command is, be-cloud and be-little by ignorance, whatever virture you may possess.

ginorance, whatever virture you may possess.

Sir, let me justify the earnestness of these expressions, by describing the transition of feeling through which I have lately passed. I come from a community where knowledge ranks next to virtue in the classification of blessings. On the tenth day of April last, the day before I left home for this class.

for this place, I attended the dedication of a school-house in Boston, which had cost \$70,000. The Mayor presided, and much of the intelligence and worth of the city was present on the occasion. I

see by a paper which I have this day receive

These measures are part of a great system which

a million of dollars for the support of common schools. We have an old law on the statute book,

requiring towns to tax themselves for the support

of public schools, but the people have long since lost sight of this law in the munificence of their

contributions. Massachusetts is now erecting a reform school, for vagrant and exposed children-

so many of whom come to us from abroad—which will cost the State more than a hundred thousand dollars. An unknown individual has given \$20,000 towards it. We educate all our deaf and dumb

in the following words:— Save,' said he, 'save, spare, scrape, stint, starve, do any thing but steal,' to educate your children. And Dr. Howe, the noble-hearted director of the Institution for the Blind, lately uttered the deepest sentiments of our citizens, when in sections.

when, in speaking of our duties to the blind, the deaf and dumb, and the idiotic, he said:—'The

speech which I heard, was that of the gentleman from Virginia, proposing to extend ignorance to the uttermost bounds of this republic; to legalize it, to enforce it, to necessitate it, and make it eternal. Since him, many others have advocated the same

abhorrent doctrine. Not satisfied with dooming a whole race of our fellow-beings to mental darkness, impervious and everlasting—not satisfied with drawing this black curtain of ignorance between man and nature, between the human soul and its God, from the Atlantic to the Rio Grande, across buff the continent, they desire in the satisfied of the Rio Grande, across buff the continent, they desire in the satisfied with dominion and the satisfied of the Rio Grande, across buff the continent.

half the continent—they desire to increase this race ten, twenty millions more, and to unfold and spread

of truth, widened and deepened, has come

knowledge, than you can have corn without planting, or harvests wihout sun-hine.

Look into the Patent Office reports, and see in what sections of the county mechanical improvements and the application of science to the useful arts, have originated. Out of five hundred and severally-lieo patents, issued in 1847, only sixty-six were to the slave States. The patents annually issued, it is true, are a mingled heap of chaff and wheat, but some of it is wheat wouthy of Olympus. I think the Patent Office reports show, that at least six or eight times as many patents have been taken out for the North as for the South. What improvements will a slave ever make in agricultural imbut for the North as for the solid agricultural imments will a slave ever make in agricultural im ments will a slave ever make in agricultural im-plements; in the manufacture of metals; in pre-paring wool, cotton, silk, fir, or paper; in chemi-cal processes; in the application of steam; in philosophical, nautical, or optical instruments; in civil engineering, architecture, the construction o roads, canals, wharves, bridges, docks. piers, &c. in hydraulies or pneumaties; in the application of the mechanical powers; in household furniture, or wearing apparel, in printing, binding, engraving. &c. &c.? This question, when put in reference to slaves, appears ridiculous; and yet it is no more ard, when asked in reference to an ignoran slave, than when asked in reference to an une ted white man. The fact that the latter is a makes no difference; notwithstanding the com-mon opinion, in certain latitudes, that it does. All such improvements come from minds which have had an early awakening, and been put on scientific trains of thought in their childhood and youth—a thing utterly impossible for the people at large, without common schools.

without common schools.

These are causes;—now look at effects. In three New England States the iron manufacture is twenty times as much, according to the population, as it is in Virginia, and yet Virginia has far more of the ore than they. In cotton they. In cotton, we can hardly of the ore than they. In cotton, we can hardly find a fraction low enough to express the difference. The ship building in Maine and Massachusetts in Ind a fraction low enough to express the difference. The ship building in Maine and Massachusetts is thirty-five times as much as in Virginia. The North comes to the South, cuts their timber, carries it home, manufactures it, and then brings it back into a hundred different forms, to be sole

wrought into a hundred different forms, to be sold to those who would see it rot before their eyes. Can any give a reason why Norfolk should not have grown like New York, other than the difference in the institutions of the people? Jamestown was settled before Plymouth, and had natural advantages superior to it. Plymouth has a population of between seven and eight thousand, is worth two millions of dollars, and taxed itself leat year, for schools and absoluters were their seven their seven and eight thousand. for schools and schoolhouses, more than seven thousand dollars. I ought rather to say, that it invested more than seven thousand dollars in kind of stock that yields a hundred per cent, in come.—How many bats there may be in the ruins of Jamestown the last census does not inform us, the books printed at the South, I suppose, not one filtith part the number printed at the North. In maps, charts, engravings, and so forth, the elements

of comparison exist only one side.

Out of universal education comes genius, skill, and enterprise, and the desire to better one's condition. Industry and frugality are their concomitants. Diversified labor secures a home market. Diligence earns much, but the absence of the vices of indolence saves more. Hence comforts abound, while capital accumulates. After the home consumption is supplied, there is a surplus for export. The balance of trade is favorable. All the higher The balance of trade is favorable. All the higher institutions of learning and religion can be liberal ly supported. These institutions impart an eleva-ted and moral tone to society. Hence efforts for all kinds of social ameliorations. Temperance societies for preventing crime; for saving from the reform of prisons and the refformation of prisoners; for peace; for sending missionaries to the heathen, for diffusing the Gospel;—all these, where a sound education is given, grow up in the order of Providence, as an oak grows ut of an acorn.
In one thing the South has excelled—in training

statesmen. The primary, and the ultimate effects of slavery upon this fact are so well set forth in a late sermon by Dr. Bushnell, of Hartford, Connecticut, that I will read a passage from it:

And here, since this institution of slavery, en-tering into the fortunes of history, complicates, in so many ways, the disorders we suffer; I must pause a few moments to sketch its characteristics. Slavery, it is not to be denied, is an essentially barbarous institution. It gives us, too, that sign which is the perpetual distinction of barbarism. which is the perpetual distinction of barbarism, that it has no law of progress. The highest level it reaches, is the level at which it begins. Indeed, we need not scruple to allow that it has yielded us one considerable advantage, in virtue of the fact, that it produces its best condition first. For while the northern people were generally delving in labor. for many generations, to create a condition of com-fort, slavery set the masters at once on a footing of case, gave them leisure for elegant intercourse, for unprofessional studies, and seasoned their character thus with that kind of cultivation which dis tinguishes men of society. A class of statesmen were thus raised up, who were prepared to figure as leaders in scenes of public life, where so much de-pends on manners and social address. But now the scales are changing—free labor is rising, at length, into a state of wealth and comfort, to take the lead of American society. Meanwhile the the high families the stat men-gardually receding in character as they must under this vicious institution, are receding in power and influence, and have been ever since the Revolution. Slavery is a condition against nature; the curse of nature, therefore, is on it, and it bows to its doom by a law as irresistible as gravity. It produces a condition of ease which is not the ward of labor, and a state of degradation which is not the curse of idleness. Therefore, the ease it enjoys cannot but end in a curse, and the degradation it suffers cannot rise into a blessing. It nourishes imperious and violent passions. It makes solitary sheiks on their estates, forbid the masters ing thus the possibility of public schools, and pre venting also that condensed form of society which is necessary to the vigorous maintenace of churches. Education and religion thus displaced, the dinner table only remains, and on this hangs, in great part, the keeping of the social state. But however highly we may estimate the humanizing power of hospitality it cannot be regarded as any sufficient spring of character. It is neither a school nor a gospel and when it comes of self-indulgence seeks relief for the tedium of an idl life, scarcely does it bring with it the ble a virtue. The accomplishments it yields are of a mock quality, rather than of a real, having about the same relation to a substantial and finished culture that honor has to character. This kind of currency will pass no longer; for, it is not expen without comfort, or splendor set in disorder, as diamonds in pewter; it is not airs in place of elegance, or assurance substituted for ease; neither is it to be master of a fluent speech, or to garnish the same with stale quotations from the classics; much less is it to live in the Don Juan vein, accepting barbarism by poetic inspiration-the same a late noble poet, drawing out of Turk and pirates became the chosen laureate of slavery—not any or all of these can make up such a style of man, or We have co of life, as we in this age demand. We have come up to a point where we look for true intellectual ent, and a ripe state of personal culture, But how clearly is it to be seen to be a violation of its own laws, for slavery to produce a genuin scholar, or a man, who, in any department of excel-lence, unless it be in politics, is not a full century

behind his time.

And if we ask for what is dearer and better still. for a pure Ceristian morality, the youth of slavery ned in no such habits as are most congenial to. The point of honor is the only principle to virtue. many of them know. Violence and dissinat bring down every succeeding generation to a stat continually lower; so that now, after a hundred and fifty years are passed, the slaveholding territory may be described as a vast missionary ground, and one so uncomfortable to the faithful ministry of Christ, by reason of its jealous tempers, and the known repugnance it has to many of the first maxisms of the gospel, that scarcely a missionary can be found to enter it. Connected with this moral decay, the resources of nature are also exhausted and her fertile territories changed to a desert by the uncreating power of a spendthrift institution. And then, having made a waste where God had made a then, having made a waste where detailed bankruptcy, garden, slavery gathers up the relices of bankruptcy, and the baser relics still of virtue and manly enterprise, and goes forth to renow, on a virgin soil its dismal and forlorn history. Thus, at length has been produced what may be called the bowieknife style of civilization, and the new West of the South is overrun by it—a spirit of blood which de-fies all laws of God and man; honorable, but not honest; prompt to resent an injury, slack to dis-charge a debt; educated to ease, and readier, of course, when the means of living fail, to find them

at the gambling table or the race ground, than in er offended him, captivating and carrying them

any work of industry—probably squandering the means of living, to relieve the todium of ease itself.

The free schools of the North lead to the common diffusion of knowledge and the equalization of society. The private schools of the South divide men into patricians and plebians; so that, in the latter, a nuisance grows out of education itself. In the public schools of New York, there are librations of the schools of New York, there are librations of the schools of New York, there are librations of the schools of New York, there are librations of the schools of New York, there are librations of the schools of New York, there are librations of the schools of New York, there are librations of the schools of New York, there are librations of the schools of New York, there are librations of the schools of New York, there are librations of the schools of New York, there are librations of the schools of New York, there are librations of the schools of New York, there are librations of the schools of the schools of the schools of New York, there are librations of the schools of New York, there are librations of the schools of New York, there are librations of the schools of New York, there are librations of the schools of New York, there are librations of the schools of New York, there are librations of the schools of New York, there are librations of the schools of New York, there are librations of the schools of New York, there are librations of the schools of New York, there are librations of the schools of New York, there are librations of the schools of New York, there are librations of the schools of New York, there are librations of the schools of New York, there are librations of the schools of New York, there are librations of the schools of New York, the schools

liberal ideas, within the last century, that what was its for there is a small belt around the globe, comprising but a few degrees of latitude, which has produced all the distinguished men who have ever lived. I say this difference results from no difference in natural endowment; the mental endowments at the South are equal to those in any part of the world; but it comes in one quarter because the common atmosphere is vivified with knowledge, electric with ideas, while slavery gathers its Bæotian fogs over the other. What West Point has been to our armies in Mexico, that, and more has been to our armies in Mexico, that, and more at the than that, good schools would be to the intelligence

and industrial prosperity of our country.

It may seem a little out of place, but I cannot forbear here adverting to one point, which, as a forbear here adverting to one point, which, as a loss of the med, its was have been been been and a parent, touches me more deeply than any other. To whom are entrusted at the South the early care and nurture of children? It has been thought by many educators and metaphysicians, that children learn as much before the age of seven years, as ever atterwards. Who, at physicians, that children learn as much before the age of seven years, as ever afterwards. Who, at the South administers this early knowledge-these ! the South, administers this early knowledge—these ideas, these views, that have such sovereign efficacy in the formation of adult character? Who has the custody of children during this ductile, forming, receptive perior of life—a period when the mind absorbs whatever is brought into contact with it? Sir, the children of the South, more or less, and Su, the children of the South, more or less, and generally more, are tended and nurtured by slaves. Ignorance, superstition, vulgarity, passion, and perhaps impurity, are the breasts at which they nurse. Whatever other afflictions God may see fit to bring upon me, whatever other mercies He may withhold, of refinement, of moral excellence, to walk with my children during the imitative years of their exis-tence, and lead them in the paths of knowledge, and breathe into their hearts the breath of moral

ife.

Before considering the moral character of slavery, I wish to advert for a moment to the position which we occupy as one of the nations of the earth, in this advancing period of the world's civilization. Nations, like individuals, have a character. The date of the latter is counted by years; that of the former by centuries. No man can have any self-former by centuries. No man can have any self-former of the purpose of wounding the feelings of any man. On the other hand, I mean not to wound the truth by abstaining from the utterance of a word which I ought to speak.

The institution, we ough.

Institution of the purpose of the latter is countried.

Institution, we ough.

Institution of the world of respect who is not solicitous about his posthumous reputation. No man can be a patriot who feels neither joy nor shame at the idea of the honor or of the infamy which his age and his country shall leave behind them. Nations, like individuals, have characteristic objects of ambition. Greece coveted the arts; Rome gloried in war; but liberty has been the goddess of our idolatry. Amid the storms of freedom were we cradled; in the struggles of freedom have our joints been knit; on the rich aliment of freedom have we grown to our present statue. With a somewhat too boastful spirit, perhaps, have we challenged the admiration of the world for our devotion to liberty; but an enthusiasm for the rights of man is so holy a passion that even its excesses are not devoid of the beautiful. We have not only won freedom for ourselves, but we have taught its sacred lessons to others. The shout of Death to tyrants and Freedom for man, which pealed through this country seventy years ago, has at length reached across the Atlantic; and whoever has given an attentive ear to the sounds which have come back to us, within the last few months from the European world, cannot have failed to perceive that they were only the far-travelled echoes of the American Declaration of Indevention of the sounds which have come back to us, within the last few months from the European world, cannot have elled echoes of the American Declaration of Indevention of the sounds which have come back to us, within the last few months from the European world, cannot have alled a cchoes of the American Declaration of Indevention of the sounds which have come back to us, within the last few months from the European world, cannot have alled a cchoes of the American Declaration of Indevention of the sounds where the sounds which have come back to us, within the last few months from the European world, cannot have burned most fervently, there has been the most decided recognition of the amiversal rights of man. They find no warrant for it to be wrong. The writers of failed to perceive that they were only the far-travelled echoes of the American Declaration of Independence. But in the divine face of our liberty be not the most compact, and concentrated and pendence. But in the divine face of our liberty there has been one foul, demoniac feature. Whenever her votaries would approach her to worship, they have been fain to draw a veil over one part of her visage to conceal its hideousness. Whence the visage to conceal its hideousness. Whence the visage to conceal its hideousness is a conceal to the visage to conceal its hideousness. Whence the visage to conceal its hideousness is a conceal to the visage to conceal its hideousness. her visage to conceal its hideousness. Whence came this deformity on her otherwise fair and celestial countenance? Sad is the story, but it must be told. Her mother was a vampire. As the daugher lay helpless in her arms, the beldam tore open her living flesh, and feasted upon her life-blood. Hence this unsightly wound, that affrights whoever beholds. But, sir, I must leave dallying with these ambiguous metaphors. One wants the plain, single to take the life of his captive; and thus acquired a right to control it. I deny the right of the captor to the life of his captive; and thus acquired a right to control it. I deny the right of the captor to the life of his captive; and thus acquired a right to control it. I deny the right of the captor to the life of his captive; and thus acquired a right to control it. I deny the right of the captor to the life of the captor to the life of the captor to the life of the captor of the life of the captor ambiguous metaphors. One wants the plain, sinis no free agency. Peace being
ewy Saxon tongue, to tell the deeds that would have lows inevitably that the state shamed devils. Great Britain was the mother. Her American colouies were the daughter. The mother lusted for gold. To get it she made partnership with robbery and death. Shackles, chains and weapons for homan butchery, were her outfit in trade. She made Africa her hunting-ground. She made its people her prey, and the unwilling colonies her market-place. She broke into the Ethiop's home, as a wolf into a sheep-fold at midnight. She set the continent affiance that she might seize the affrighted inhabitants as they ran shrieking from their blazing hamlets. The aged and the infant, she left for the vultures; but the strong men and the strong women she drove, scourged and bleeding, to the shore. Packed and stowed like merchandise between unventilated decks, so close that the tempest without could not ruffle the pesbleeding, to the shore. Packed and stowed like merchandise between unventilated decks, so close that the tempest without could not ruffle the pestilential air within, the voyage was began. Once a day the hatches were opened to receive food and disgorge the dead. Thousands and thousands of corpses, which she plunged into the ocean from the decks of her slave ships, she counted only as the tare of commerce. The blue monsters of the deep became familiar with her pathway; and, not more remorseless than she, they shared her plunder. At length the accursed vessel reached the foreign shore. And there monsters of the land, fiercer and feller than any that roam the watery plains, reward-

For more than a century did the manness of this raffic rage. During all those years, the clock of the certainty never counted out a minute that did not witness the cruel death, by treachery or violence, the better authority, for its of subsequent date. If the better authority, for its of subsequent date. If of some son or daughter, some father or mother, of Africa. The three millions of slaves that now to advocate a repeal of the act of 1793. of Africa. The three millions of slaves that now darken our southern horizon are the progeny of those progenitors;—a doomed race, fated and suffering from sire to son. But the enormities of the mother country did not pass without remonstrance. Many of the colonies remonstrated against, and rebuked them. The New England colonies, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, presented to the throne the most humble and suppliant petitions, praying for the abolition of the trade. The colonial legislatures massed laws against it. But their petitions of a slave and a horse, "a slave and a lorse," a slave and a lorse, "a slave and a lorse," a slave and a lorse," a slave and a lorse, "a sla praying for the abolition of the trade. The colonial legislatures passed laws against it. But their petitions were spurned from the throne. Their laws were vetoed by the governors. In informal negotiations attempted with the ministers of the crown, the friends of the slave were made to understand that royalty turned an adder's ear to their prayers. The profoundest feelings of lamentation and abhorman are kindled in the bessens of his western work, claiming to be a scientific treatise on zoolo-The profoundest feelings of lamentation and abhorrence were kindled in the bosoms of his western
subjects by this flagitous conduct of the king. In
that dark catalogue of crimes, which led our faththat dark catalogue of crimes, which led our faththat to the led our faththat to the led our faththat to the led our faththat catalogue of crimes, which led our faththat to the led our faththat th

Britain. Determined to keep a market when MEN should be bought and sold, he has prostite ted his negative for suppressing every legislativatempt to prohibit or to restrain this execusion.

the latter, a nuisance grows out of education itself. In the public schools of New York, there are libraries now amounting to more than a million of volumes. In the schools of Massachuseits, the number of volumes is relatively less, but the quality is greatly superior. In each of these States, within half an hour's walk of the poorest form-house or mechanic's shop, there is a library, free and open to every child, containing works of history, biography, travels, ethics, natural science, &c. &c., which will supply him with the noblest capital of imellingence wherewith to commence the business of a useful and intelligent eitizen. With the exception of New Orleans, (whose free schools were commenced and have been presided over by a Massachuseits man,) and three or four other cities, all this libraries of the public schools in the slave States could be carried in a school hoy's satchel. The libraries of all the colleges and universities of the South contain 223,416 volumes; those of the North, 523,897 volumes. The libraries of Southern theological schools, 22,800,7 those of Northern 102,080.

Lowell; the jurists, Story, Kent, Wheaton; the classic models of writing. Clannaing, Everett, Irving; the female writers, Miss Sedgwick, Mrs. Sigonary, Mrs. Child? All this proceeds from no superiority of mutural endowment on the one side, or inferiority on the other. The Southern States are all within what may be called 'the latitude of genius; for there is a small belt around the globe, comprising but a few degrees of latitude, which has produced all the distinguished men who have ever rating the subject of slavery? How often have we at the North been told that we were inciting insurrection, fomenting a servile war, putting the black man's knife to the white man's throat? The air of this Hall has been filled, its walls have been were born into, and therefore they could not help it. I have always been disposed to allow its full weight to this palliation. But if they now insist on perpetuating, against the whole Western world which happens at present to be under our control, e same wrongs which, in darker days, itain perpetrated against them, they will ie same every claim to sympathy. Sir, here is a test. Let not Southern men, who would now force slavery upon new regions, ever deny that their slavery at

home is a chosen, voluntary, beloved crime.

But let us look, sir, at the moral character of slavery. It is proposed not merely to continue this institution where it now exists, but to extend it to the Pacific ocean—to spread it over the vast slopes of the Rocky mountains. Sir, the conduct of governments, like the conduct of individuals, is subject to the laws and the retributions of Providence. If, therefore, there is any ingredient of wrong in this institution, we ought not to adopt it, or to permit it,

ed the robber by purchasing his spoils.

For more than a century did the madness of this authority, at a much later period, commanded the

that dark catalogue of crimes, which led our fathers to forswear allegiance to the British throne, its refusal to prohibit the slave trade to the colonies, is made one of the most prominent of those political offences which are said to 'define a tyrant.' In the original draught of the Declaration of Independence, this crime of King George the Third is set forth in the following words:—

'He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never succeed.

This conacious idea that the state of slavery is a state of war—a state in which superior force keeps inferior force down—devolopes and manifests itself perpetually. It exhibits itself in the statutation of slaves, making it highly penal to teach them so much as the alphabet; dispersing and punishing all meetings where they come together in quest of knowledge. Look into the statute-books of the fire States, and you will find law after law, emcouragement after encouragement, to secure the diffusion of knowledge. Look into the statute-books of the slave States, and you find law after law, penalty after penalty to secure the coincion of knowledge. Look into the statute-books of the slave States, and you find law after law, penalty after penalty of secure the coincion of knowledge. Look into the statute-books of the slave States, and you find law after law, penalty after penalty to secure the extinction of knowledge. Who has not read with delight those books which lave been written, both in England and in this country, entitled 'The Pursuit of Knowledge under Diff critics,' giving the biographics of illustrious men, who, by an undaunted and indomitable spirit, had risen from poverty and obscurity to the heights of eminence, and indomitable spirit, had risen from poverty and obscurity to the heights of eminence, and indomitable spirit, had risen from poverty and obscurity to the heights of eminence, and indomitable spirit, had risen from poverty and obscurity to the heights of eminence, and indomitable spirit, had risen from poverty and obscurity to the heights of eminence, and indomitable spirit, had risen from poverty and obscurity to the heights of eminence, and in morals? Yet here, in what we call republican America, are fifteen great States, vying with each other to see which with the transures of knowledge, and had been burded with the most precious bounties which the all-bountiful Giver has bestowed upon the human race? Sir John Merican and the state of the tiply their number tenfold, and to fill up all the Western world with these proofs of humana varice and guilt. It is proposed that we ourselves should create, and should publish to the world, not one, but untold millions of 'Examples of a Crime on the Life of the Soul.' It is proposed that the self-styled freemen, the self-styled Christians, of fifteen great States in this American Union, shall engage in the work of procreating, rearing, and selling Caspar Hausers, often from their own loins; and if any further development of soul or of body is allowed to the American victims than was permitted to the Bayarian child, it is only because such destead under every variety of circumstances, and be a source of happiness and cheerfulness to me through life, and a shield against its ills, however things might go amiss, and the world frown upon me, it would be a taste for reading.' Yet it is now proposed to colonize the broad regions of the West with millions of our fellow-beings, who shall never be able to read a book or write a word; to whom knowledge shall bring no delight in childhood, no relief in the weary hours of sickness or convalesto the Bavarian child, it is only because such velopment will increase their market value at cence, no solace in the decrepitude of age; who shall perceive nothing of the beauties of art, who shall know nothing of the wonders of science, who burracoons. It is not from any difference of motive. but only the better to insure that motive's indul-gence. The slave cilld must be allowed to use shall never reach any lofty, intellectual conception of the attributes of their great Creator;—deaf to gence. The slave cilild must be allowed to use his limbs, or how could be drudge out his life in the service of his master? The slave infant must be taught to walk, or how, under the shadow of this thrice glorious Capitol, could be join a coffle tor New Orleans?

I know, sir, that it has been said, within a short time past, that Caspar Hauser was an imposter, and his story a fiction. Would to God that this could be said of his fellow victims in America.

For another reason slavery is an unspeakable all the hosannas of praise which nature sings to her Maker; blind in this magnificent temple which God has builded.
Sir, it is one of the noblest attributes of man,

could be said of his fellow victims in America.

For another reason slavery is an unspeakable wrong. The slave is deharred from testifying against a white man. The courts will not hear him as a witness. By the principles of the common law, if any man suffers violence at the hands of another, he can prefer his complaint to magistrates, or to the grand juries of the courts, who are bound to size the law is waid to to give him redress. Hence the law is said to hold up its shield before man for his protection It surrounds him in the crowded street and in the solitary place. It guards his treasures with great re vigilance than locks or iron safes; and against meditated aggressions upon himself, his wife, or his children, it fastens his doors every night, more securly than triple bolts of brass. But all these sacred protections are denied to the slave. While subjected to the law of force, he is shut out from the law of right. To suffer injury is his, but never to obtain redress. For personal cruelties; for stripes that shiver his flesh and blows that break bones; for robbery or for murder, neither ! nor his friends have preventive, remedy, or recom pense. The father, who is a slave, may daughteer scored, mangled, mutilated, ravished, before his eyes, and he must be dumb as a sheep before his shearers. The wife may be disho in the presence of the husband, and, if he remon strates or rebels, the miscreant who could burn with the lust, will not burn less fiercely with a ven-

genuce to be glutted upon his foiler.

Suppose suddenly, by some disastrous change in the order of nature, an entire kingdom, or commuthat another school-house, in the same city, was dedicated on Monday of the present week. It was there stated by the Mayor that the cost of the city school-houses, which had been completed within the last three months, was \$200,000. On Tuesday nity, were to be enveloped in total darkness—to have no day, no dawn, but midnight evermore! Into what infinite forms of violence and wrong would the deprayed passions of the human heart spring up, when no longer restrained by the light of day, and the dangers of exposure! So far as legal rights are concerned, the slave lives in such a world of darkness. A hundred of his fellows may stand around him and witness the wrong he suffers, but not one of them can appeal to jury, imagistrate, or judge, for punishment or redress. The wickedest white man, in a company of slaves, nity, were to be enveloped in total darkness-to the last three months, was \$200,000. On Tuesday of this week, a new high school-house, in the city of Cambridge, was dedicated. Mr. Everett, the President of Harvard College, was present, and addressed the assembly in a long, and, I need not add, a most beautiful speech. That school-house, with two others to be dedicated within a week, will have cost \$25,000. Last week, in the neighboring city of Charlestown, a new high school-house of a most splendid and costly character, was dedicated by the Mayor and city government, by clergy and laity. But it is not Mayors of cities, and Presidents of colleges alone, that engage in the work of consecrating temples of education to the service of the young. Since I have been here, the Governor of the Commonwealth, Mr. Briggs, went to Newburyport, a distance of forty miles, to attend the dedication of a school-house, which cost 25,000. On a late occasion, when the same excellent Chief Magistrate travelled forty miles to attend the dedication of a school-house in the country was the dedication of a school-house in the country was a school house in the country was defined and the dedication of a school-house in the country was defined and the dedication of a school-house in the country was defined and the dedication of a school house in the country was a school house when the same excellent chief Magistrate travelled forty miles to attend the dedication of a school-house was a school house when the same excellent chief Magistrate travelled forty miles to attend the dedication of a school-house was a school house when the same excellent chief Magistrate travelled forty miles to attend the dedication of a school-house was a school house was a s The wickedest white man, in a company of slaves, bears a charmed life. There is not one of the fell passions that rages in his bosom which he cannot indulge with wantonness, and to satiety, and the court has no ears to hear the complaint of the victim. How dearly does every honorable man prize

character! The law denies the slave a character for, however traduced, legal vindication is impos-And yet, infinitely flagrant as the anomaly is, the iles to attend the

ation of a school-house in the country, some fences which he may commit against others, though he is powerless to protect himself by the same law from of the Commonwealth had come down dedication of a school-house in the country, some speaker congratulated the audience because the Governor of the Commonwealth had come down from the Executive Chair to honor the occasion. 'No,' said he, 'I have come up to the occasion to be honored by it.' Within the last year, \$200,000 have been given by individuals to Harvard College. Within a little longer time than this, the other two colleges in the State have received, together, a still larger endowment from individuals or the State. These measures are part of a great system which him. He may suffer wrong, and the courts will not hearken to his testimony: but for the first wrong he does, the same courts inflict their severest punishments upon him. This is the reciprocity of slave law—to be forever liable to be proved guilty, but never able to prove himself innocent; to be where the collection of the subject to all punishments, but, through his own oath, to no protection. Hear what is said by the highest judicial tribunal of South Carolina. 'Although slaves are held to be the absolute property of their owners, yet they have the power of committing crimes.' (2d Nott and McCord's Rep., 179.) we are carrying on for the elevation of the race. Last year the voters of Massachusetts, in their respective towns, voluntarily taxed themselves about A negro is so far amenable to the common that he may be one of the three to constitute number necessary to make a riot. (1st Bay's Re. 358.) By the laws of the same State, a negro may be stolen, and he has no redress; but if he steals a negro from another, he shall be hung. (2d Nott and McCord's Rep. 179.) (An example of this penalty suffered by a stare.) This is the way that slave legislatures and slave judicatories construe the command of Christ, 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye also the same unto them.' Nay, by the laws of some of ond towards it. We educate all our deaf and dumb and blind. An appropriation was made by the last legislature to establish a school for idiots, in imitation of those beautiful institutions in Paris, in the slave States, where master and slave are engaged in a joint act, the slave is indictable, while the master is not.

ing and malicious of this deplorable class are tamed into docility, made lovers of order and neatness. What rights are more sacred or more dear to us and made capable of performing many vulnable services. The future teacher of this school is now abroad preparing himself for his work. A few years ago, Mr. Everett, the present President of Harvard College, then Governor of the Commonwealth spake the door services. civilization, has ever yet been discovered, where these rights were unknown or unhonored. The beasts of the forest feel and respect them. It is

wealth, spoke the deep convictions of Massachusetts only in the land of slaves that they are blotted out people, when, in a public address on education, he exhorted the fathers and mothers of Massachusetts Slavery is an unspeakable wrong to the conand annihilated.

Slavery is an unspeakable wrong to the conscience. The word 'conscience' conveys a complex idea. It includes conscientiousness; that is, the sentiment or instinct of right and wrong; and intelligence; which is the guide of this sentiment Conscience, then, implies both the desire or impuls to do right, and also a knowledge of what is right Nature endows us with the sentiment, but knowledge we must acquire. Hence we speak deat and dumb, and the idiotic, he said.— The sight of any human being left to brutish ignorance, is always demoralizing to the beholders. There floats not upon the stream of life a wreck of humanity, so utterly shattered and crippled, but that its signals of distress should challenge attention.

Adulte endows us with the knowledge we must acquire. Hence we speak of an 'enlightened conscience'—meaning thereby not only the moral sense, but that knowledge of circumstances, relations, tendencies and results, which is its signals of distress should challenge attention necessary in order to guide the moral sense to just conclusions. Each of these elements is equally like these, that a few weeks ago I entered this House—sentiments transfused into my soul from without, even if I had no vital spark of nobleness to kindle them within. Imagine, then, my strong revulsion of feeling, when the first set, elaborate speech which I heard, was that of the gentlements from Virginia was that of the gentlements. Each of these elements is equally necessary to enable a man to feel right and to act right. Mere knowledge, without the moral sense can take no cognizance of the everlasting distinctions between right and wrong, and so the blind instinct, unguided by knowledge, will be forever at fault in its conclusions. The two were made to co-exist and operate together, by Him who made the human soul. But the impious hand of man di-vorces these twin-capacities wherever it denice knowledge. If one of these co-ordinate powers in the mental realm be annulted by the legislature.

it may be called law; but it is repugnant to every But, not satisfied with having invaded the human soul, and annihilated one of its most sucred attri-butes, in the persons of three millions of our fellow-men; not satisfied with having killed the con-science, as far as it can be killed by human device, and human force, in an entire race; we are now invoked to muniply that race, to extend it over reten, twenty millions more, and to untold and spread out this black curtain across the other half of the continent. When, sir, in the halls of legislation, men advocate measures like this, it is no figure of speech to say, that their words are the clauking of multitudinous fetters; each gesture of their arms tears human flesh with ten thousand whips; each!

Slavery is an unspeakable wrong to the religious.

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nature of man. The dearest and most precion of all human rights is the right of private judgment in matters of religion. I am interested in nothing so much as in the attributes of my Creator; and in the relations which he has established between me and himself, for time and for eternity. To investigate for myself these relations, and their momentous consequences; to 'search the scriptures'; to explore the works of God in the outward wishle naiverse; to ask counsel of the same tures'; to explore the works of God in the outward and visible universe; to ask connsci of the sages and divines in the ages gone by;—these are rights which it would be sacrilege for me to surrender; which is worse sacrilege for any human being or human government, to usurp. Yet, by denying education to the slave, you destroy not merely the right, but the power, of personal examination, in regard to all that most nearly concerns the soul's interests. Who so base as not to reverence is regard to all that must marry concerns the soul's interests. Who so base as not to reverence the mighty champions of religious freedom, in day when the dungeon, the rack and the fagot were the when the dungeon, the rack and the lagot were the arguments of a government theology? Who does not reverence, I say, Wickiffe, Huss, Luther, and the whole army of martyrs, whose blood reddened the axe of English intolerance? Yeth was only for this right of private judgment, for this independence of another man's control, in religious contents that the Cod-like abandones of raise. dence of another man's control, in religious con-cernments, that the God-like champions of religious liberty perilled themselves, and perished. Yet in is this very religious despotism over millions of men, which it is now proposed, not to destroy, but men, which it is now proposed, not to destroy, but to create. It is proposed not to break old fetters and east them away, but to forge new ones, and rivet them on. Sir, on the continent of Europe, and in the Tower of London, I have seen the axes, the chains, and other horid implements of death, by which the great defenders of freedom for the soul were brought to their final doom; by which political and religious liberty was cloven down; but fairer and lovelier to the view were axe and chain, and all the ghastly implements of death, ever invented by religious bigotry, or civil despot ism, to wring and torture freedom out of the soul of man;—fairer and lovelier were they all, than the parchment roll of this House, on which shall be in-Inscribed a law for profaming one additional foot of American soil with the curse of slavery. [Here the Chairman's hammer announced the close of the hour. Mr. Mann had but one topic more which be desired to enhance the close of the lower o he designed to elucidate; the inevitable tendency of slavery to debase the standard both of private and of public morals in any community where exists.]

THE LIBERATOR

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BOSTON, AUGUST 4, 1848.

TO-DAY'S PAPER

We are informed by the printer, that in consequence of the great lergth of Mr. Mann's speech, which we have given in full to day, and of the accounts of public affairs of moment at Washington, which demand insertion this week, the regular supplies of editorial with which we had duly furnished nim, must be deferred till the next number. We are sure that none of the readers will complain of the space which is occupied by Mr. Mann's speech; although, doubtless, some of them may have seen it in other places. This, however, is not the case with the mass. And all should be glad to have so able and interesting a performance put in a shape in which it can be readily circulated, or permanently preserved Mr. Mann's friends, and the public, have been waiting curiously for the opening of his mouth, anxious to know what the successor of John Quincy Adams was going to say at this juncture. He has more than met their expectations in the lucid, forcible and elequent exposition he has given of the nature and evils of Slavery as it affects the Free, and yet more as it affects the Slave. It is, we should think, the best Anti-Slavery lecture, properly so called, that has been delivered before the National Lyceum. The same friends and public who rejoice that Mr. Mann has acquitted himself so well in his say, are now doubly curious to know what he means to do at this critical moment. Whether he will place himself by the side of the Ashmuns and the Hudsons, who make Anti-Slavery speeches with one breath, and with the next help to swell the sorvile shout for the Bloodhound candidate of their party. Or whether he will cast in his lot with Paltrey and Giddings, and not count his political life dear unto him so he do but maintain the faith he has professed. The very clearness of vision which he has evinced in this matter, will but make his condemnation the greater, should he be seen, after all, serving under the Bloodound banner of the man-stealing Extender of Slave ry. Were this possible, verily the last end of that an would be worse than the first.

Within the last week, the President has sent a Message to Congress which developes a new phase of slaveholding policy. The most valuable part of New Mexico, it seems,-that which the Slaveholders want for their immediate purposes,-belongs to Texar, and was so defined in the Resolutions of An nexation! Good Faith, therefore, will require that her rights be respected, and so the perplexing question of slavery in this territory is taken from the shoulders of Uncle Sam and laid upon the willing ones of his youngest and favorite daughrer! No action has been taken as yet on this proposition; but it seems as satisfactory a compromise as any we are like to

have. The Compromise Bill, too, after passing the Senate by a vote of 33 to 22, has been laid on the table in the House by a majority of fifteen. We should not, however, exult too soon at this event, or we may find our joy turned into lamentation. The bill, not witstanding the refusal to reconsider at the time, which would finally have destroyed the bill had it been rejected, we apprehend may be taken from the table at any time, and the House may yet wake after the drunken orgies of the last night of the session, and find that the deed is done. But even should the question be laid aside for the present, we may be assured that it is not dead, but sleepeth only. It may be permitted to slumber until the turmoil of the Presidential Election is over, and then quick despatch be made. Remember that the Treaty for Anexing Texas was rejected by the Senate, at a similar conjuncture, and for the same reason. The South is wary as well as impetuous. It can wait,but it will have its way, for all that .- Q.

FIRST OF AUGUST AT LYNN.

The celebration of this Anniversary of Emaneipation, on Tuesday last, was, in all respects, most cheering to the friends of the slave. The day was favorable, and a large assemblage of Abolition came together in the very pleasant Grove on Rail Hill. From Newbury port on the North, to Abington and Bridgewater on the South, and Blackstone and West Brookfield on the West, the Abolitionists of the State were well represented. Essex county sent a large delegation. The arrangements of the friends at Lynn had secured good seats, and an ample supply of refreshments and cold water for all presen James N. Buffum of Lynn was chosen President of the Convention. Addresses of great spirit and interest were made by Edmund Quiney, Miss Lucy Stone, Mr. Robinson of Bermuda, William W. Brown, Rev. Thomas T. Stone of Salem, Rev. Charles C. Shackford of Lynn, Wendell Phillips, Wm. G. Allen, formerly of Troy, and others. The woods did indeed resound with the hymns of lofty cheer' which hundreds poured forth. In the afternoon the meeting was largely re-inforced by the people of Lynn. The Secretaries of the meeting will give a more particu lar account hereafter .- M.

At the earnest solicitation of the Philadelphia friends, Parker Pillsbury and William W. Brown, our efficient and coursgeous co-adjutors, will go on to Pennsylvania and attend the annual meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society of that State-thereby b. senting themselves from the work in Massachuselts from the seventh to about the seventeenth of gust; during which time the Eastern series of Conventions will be suspended .- M.

THE TERRITORIAL COMPROMISE BILL.

The Washington Union gives an abstract of this latest and gigantic scheme of slaveholders and Northern traitors to introduce slavery into New Mexico and California. We extract those sections which bear particularly upon this great subject, first quoting the compliment which the Union pays to the National Intelligencer. Slavery brings these two papers, so widely variant on other subjects, into cordial harmony; and while it establishes the fact that there are other influences, besides the Lord, which make men to be of one mind in a house, also shows how alike unworthy of trust are both th great parties which these journals represent - s.

we publish, with great pleasure, the editoria from Wednesday morning's National Intelligencer, it is the second time, since we came to Washington, that it has been our good fortune to agree with our the second time, since we came to Washington, it has been our good fortune to agree with our shor on any great political question. The first the ratification of the treaty with Mexico, in the Intelligencer served its country, and did which the little! We are happy a second time to approve its course, and to co-operate in its efforts. We sympathise with all its feelings upon the adjustment of this agitating subject. With the Intelligence trust that this scheme

California is to be regulated as follows:

From and after the passage of this act, all hat part of the territories of that part of the territories that part of the territories the Upper California, acquired by the treaty of peace, triendship, limits and settlement between the United States of America and the Mexican Republic, constant of Candalupe Hidalgo, on the second day of States of America and the Mexican Republic, con-cluded at Gaudalupe Hidalgo, on the second day of February, eighteen hundred and forty-eight, shall be organized into, and constitute a temporary gove-riment by the name of California: Provided, That nothing in this act contained shall be construed to impair the rights of person or property now pertain-ing to the Indians in said territory, so long as such shall remain unextinguished by treaty between he United States and such Indians; or to affect the athority of the government of the United States to whorty of the government of the content of the pake any regulation respecting such Indians, their ands, property, or other rights, by trea y, law, or therwise, which it would have been competent to nt to make if this act had never passed : the government to make if this act had never passed And provided, further, That cothing in this act con amend shall be construed to inhibit the govern-ment of the United States from dividing said terri into two or more Territories, in such manner and at such times, as Congress shall deem convenient and proper; or from attaching any portion of said territory to any other State or Territory of the

Section 26th provides 'that the legislative power of said territory shall, until Congress shall otherwise provide, he vested in the governor, secretary, and of the Supreme Court, who, or a majority judges of the Special Control of the seminateration of justice in said territory, which shall not be repognant to this act, or inconsistent with the laws and Constitution of the United States. But no law shall be passed interfering with the primary dis-posal of the soil, respecting an establishment of relig-ion, or respecting slavery; and no tax shall be im-posed upon the property of the United States, nor shall the lands or other property of non-residents be taxed higher than the lands or other property of resi-dents. All the laws shall be submitted to the Conress of the United States, and, if disapproved, shall e null and void."

The 28th section is a provision concerning New Mexico, precisely similar to the 21st, given above, concerning California.

Section 33d enacts: 4 That the legislative section and Territory [New Mexico] shall, until Congress shall otherwise provide, be vested in the governor, secretary, and judges of the Supreme Court, who, or a majority of them, shall have power to pass w law for the administration of justice, in said emory, which shall not be repugnant to this act, United States. But no law shall be passed respecting establishment of religion, or respecting slavery interfering with the primary disposal of the soil d no tax shall be imposed upon the property of no tax shall be imposed upon the property of United States, nor shall the lands or other property of non-residents be taxed higher than the lands or other property of residents. All the laws shall be submitted to the Congress of the United States, and disapproved, shall be null and void."

The following is the conclusion of the Union's arti The slaveholders manifestly begin to quake with forebodings of a coming storm. Their ill-goten and long misused power, shall ere long pass away, and the memories of these tyrants and oppressors shall be as a stench in men's nostrils :

This important bill is now before the Senate.

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may receive some modifications, but we understand its great principles are likely to be preserved. We understand that little doubt is entertained of its pass-ing the Senate. It is sincerely hoped that it will be ted on and passed with as much promptitude as possible, in order that governments may be formed es, and that Congress may be le to bring its protracted session to a close. We con-is, too, with all frankness, that we desire to restore inquility both to our public councils and to the pubcount. Agitators are still engaged in disturbing the country, and building up their miserable schemes of isstraction, and gratifying their own party passions of ambition and revenge, by the extension of sectional definition and revenge, by the extension of sections for the seeings and geographical parties. It is these local feeds only which can endanger the quiet and secutive of the Union. Let the scheme before Congress be adopted—let the principle of non-intervention prevail, and all the constitutional powers of the instants of different States, in relation to this much agitated subject, be referred to the arbitrament of the judicial tribunals of the country, and we may defy the agitators. They may still groundle, and marmor, and threaten to repeal. They will tail, breause every patriot will rally around the Union The substantial features of this scheme may not be allogether agreeable to all our people. One citizen stogether agreeable to all our people. One citizen may prefer one mode of compromise, and another may prefer another. Some may go for the right of carrying the property of the South into every portion of the common territory. Some would share the territory between North and South, and draw the line according to the Missouri compromise. Mr. Cayton informs us, in his speech, that this as we as other propositions was tried in the select commit-ier, and that they all failed. He farther declares, that the scheme in this bill was the only one which as adopted with much unanimity. Mr. Calhoun (and though he may attach no value to any opinion which we may express, yet we will not forbear to do proceed to the manly and harmonious course he is prisung,) declared, as we understand, on Wednesday, that this bill contains the only adjustment which, under the circumstances, could be made. We are happy to understand that he supports it.

We want the descriptions uslice to the manly and harmonious course he is

wait the denouement with great solicitude. we wait the denouement with great solicitude. Feregard it, with Mr. Reverdy Johnson, as a queston which far outrides the Presidential election, or the temporary triumph of any party. We look to it is the bow of peace, and as such we would receive it also be done, as the best thing which could be done, as Solon said, the best which circumstances would permit—incomparably better, certainly, than to have the question unsettled, far better than to eave the peace of the country as the football for selfish politicians and maddened fanatics.

THE TERRITORIAL BILL.

We take from the New-York Herald a sketch of be commencement of the debate on this important waster. The bill having been taken up on Satur-

Mr. Clayton explained the various sections, and be would not discuss the merits of the bill apromise agreed upon, it was believed, would set the approval of the Senate. The reason why the South had preferred it to the Missouri comprowas, that the latter gave a very small propor-

ton of inhabitable territory to the South.

Mr. Nies enquired what was the compromise of the bill? Does it afford the power to Congress of registing upon the question of slavery in the territors?

Mr. Clayton said that the bill neither affirms it

our destifirms it. It refers the subject to the highest partial tribunal in the country.

Mr. Niles.—That amounts to just nothing at all. the whole question has been surrendered to the desands of the slave power.

Mr. Calloun.—We claim nothing for alwayer.—

Mr. Calhoun.—We claim nothing for slavery— betting at all; we only ask an adherence to the Con-stitution. It is only upon this common basis that the Union can be preserved. We wish to maintain ny among the members-it is only by harmony

can maintain the Union.

It. Niles said it was the first time he had heard the Carolina. If his remarks were to be taken If his remarks were to be taken haught that the South had claimed the right to carry

their slaves to all the territories. But, sir, (said Mt. Niles) by this declaration of a common basis, are not free soil, free labor, and free participles, in our institutions, implied? Yes, sir, but I apprehend it means something clae; it means a puncifiio of inequality in the doctrine of free soil and free labor. I see no inequality at all, sir. The laws by which this alave property, sail its called, may be restrict-dy all the uniform: and whatever rules of property will apply to not section, will apply to all.

Mr. Dickinson stated the difficulty of the former debate, and in the objection to the selection of the committee to establish a compromise, the Senator from Connecticul had said that they who should go for a compromise, might find themselves burnt in effigy when they go home. I am not alarmed at that threat; people who can reason only by hurning in effigy, are welcome to doi. I think the Senator however, spoke more than was set down for him, when he spoke of burning in effigy, Mr. D. explained the purpose of the committee to be conclision and compromise, and warmly approved the bill.

Mr. Niles contrasted the bill with a late speech of Mr. Dickinson, in which he contended that Congress had no power over slavery in the territories. And had no power over slavery in the territories. And in the objective dependence of avoiding the slavery question for a day or for a moment—of attrictions? It is not compromise at its worse than nothing. It leaves the question open, and then of a drinking from the duty which we owe the country—are in my hamble judgment, unworthy of the American Senate. The territory is free by the set of Good, which created it; and free by the set of man, and the half-civilized people who improved the bill. It did not say that a case could go to the surface of a share the present of the bill to get in of the size submitted to the wind the mean of the bill to get in of the size submitted to the wind the mean of the bill to get in of the size and the surface of the bill to get in of the size

the proper judicial tribunal; it must rest with the Supreme Court, where the Constitution placed it, and where it must be left. It involves a construction of the Constitution of which Congress is not the constitutional expounder. I here bring no law which protects this species of property; the guaranties of the Constitution sustain us; and those guaranties will, of course, supersede the local laws of the conquered territories. The question can be brought up before the Supreme Court on a writ of habeds corpus, and not as to the value of the slave; where they have jurisdiction over the subject, they have jurisdiction over the subject, they have jurisdiction over all the means to bring it before the jurisdiction over all the means to bring it before the for my answer to the two constitutional questions.

Mr. Calhoun—Is that an extract from Mr. Adams's

Mr. Westcott wished to know whether a certain Journal? clause in the bill prohibits the governor, secretary and the judges of California from passing laws for the punishment of venal offences of slaves, as a

Mr. Phelps replied, that what laws shall be passed one class of people and another, there would be no limit to the power to be exercised. He was for leaving the legislative question where Congress had

ing the legislative question where Congress had placed it.

Mr. Calhoun—if I wrote any thing on the subject, it has entirely escaped my memory. The facts of the statement do not correspond with my opinions. Probably there is some explanation of circumstances of which we know nothing. If I had given a written opinion, I could not have forgotten it. I may have assented to the first proposition.

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Mr. Dalhoun—if I wrote any thing on the subject, it has entirely escaped my memory. The facts of the statement do not correspond with my opinions. Probably there is some explanation of circumstances of which we know nothing. If I had given a written opinion, I could not have forgotten it. I may have assented to the first proposition.

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Mr. Niles said he would like to know the opinion of the majority; and he asked whether the Committee, by establishing temporary governments, and giving them the power of local government, exhausted jurisdiction over the subject of slavery, or whether we may pass laws with reference to slavery or other matters?

Mr. Baldwin, after a few preliminary remarks,

Mr. Dix continued to cite and comment upon the

Mr. Baldwin, after a few preliminary remarks, said that his object in rising was for the purpose of striking out all that part of the bill which follows the 20th section, so as to leave in it only so much as provides for a territorial government in Oregon.

Mr. Hale said, that so far as he understood the question, in the little State from which he came, the question between the Whig and Democrat was, who is the most orthodox on the Wilmot Proviso? He stated some of the objections which he had to the bill. He would vote against it. If we could have an honest, fair, judicial execution of the law, it would not be very exceptionable; but he had no confidence in the Supreme Court because they had gone into the free States, and stricken down the writ of habeas corpus, beneath the iron heel of slavery. The heart of the nation is beating and throbbing with anxiety on this great question, and when we are asked for something to give peace and quiet to the people, what do the Committee? Nothing. The Senator from Vermont, (Mr. Phelps) recommends this bill, because it carries with it the laws of constituents. constituents.

The conclusion of the day's debate is given in the correspondence of the Express, as follows:

Nays—Messrs. Allen, Atchison, Atherton, Badger, Bell, Benton, Bertien, Borland, Breese, Bright, Butler, Calhoun, Clayton, Davis of Mississippi, Dickinson, Douglass, Downs, Foote, Hannegan, Houston, Johnson of Maryland, Johnson of Louisiana, Johnson of Georgia, King, Lewis, Mangum, Mason, Metcalf, Pearce, Phelps, Sebastian, Spruance, Sturgeon, Turney, Underwood, Westcott, Yulee—37.

Mr. Hamlin of Maine. I am admonished by the Mr. Hamlin of Maine. I am admonished by the vote just given, that this is the time to give utterance to my opinions. The subject is one of a starting character. In the middle of the 19th century, with the sun of Liberty shining upon us, and when Europe is shaking off the shackles of despotism, we are here bravely and gravely discussing the question of extending slavery over territory now free. He had hoped that this question could be compromised upon principles of lofty patriotism, but the events of the hour admonished him that this was impossible.

Mr. Raldwin of Connecticut alluded to a decision Mr. Baldwin of Connecticut alloded to a decision made by this bill would be seen and appreciated by the public. This bill guaranteed and perpetuated the institution of slavery in territory now free. It was argued here that the Constitution carried slavery into free territory. The North would be startled by the declaration here made. This was not the doctrine of the early fathers, and we should be false to man, false to truth, false to Christianity, if we faltered at such a time. The Constitution of the United States was, in all its terms and in all its scope, anti-slavery. It looked to the future emancipation of the slaves of the country. It was no propagand instrument. It did not constitutions. pation of the slaves of the country. It was no propagand instrument. It did not carry within its provisions a power to make free territory slave territory. Its whole progressive spirit was for freedom. It against the South, and the Supreme Court would the held that the Constitution gave Congress full power to inhibit slavery from all new territory, and here entered upon a lengthy argument on a question which has already been worn threadbare in the Senate chamber.

Mr. Badger of North Carolina took the opposite ground to that assumed by Mr. Calhoun, and refused to support the bill, because the law was clearly against the South, and the Supreme Court would decide accordingly. The correspondent of the New York Commercial gives the following sketch of his remarks:—

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lation on the subject? How is the value of a slave to be ascertained when we are told that there is no property in man but to the value of his services? If the value is not two thousand dollars, is the question to be decided by the judges appointed by the President?

Mr. Clayton, in reply to a question, said that the committee thought, after full inquiry, that the people of the territories of California and New Mexico were not capable of electing delegates to Congress.

Mr. Corwin.—Why are they not?

Mr. Clayton—They are too ignorant.

Mr. Phelps followed in reply to Mr. Corwin, and said the question, in the outset, was to be settled by the proper judicial tribunal; it must rest with the Supreme Court, where the Constitution placed it,

Mr Dix-It is, Mr. Calhoun.

Mr. Calhoun-When was it made, Mr. Dix?
Mr. Dix-At the time.
Mr. Calhoun-Have you examined the State Department, to see whether the document is there

Mr. Niles said he would like to know the opinion mous' was stricken out. There was no doubt Mr

sider, next to Mr. Corwin, the very strongest speech against the bill; in many points more powerful. He considered this a chance measure, and its reference to the Supreme Court as a burden which it could not

correspondence of the Express, as follows:

The question was on Mr. Baldwin's amendment, to strike out all the sections of the bill, commencing with the 20th.

Mr. Johnson of Maryland wished to know if Mr. Baldwin desired a different government for California and New Mexico, and he replied he only wished to attend to Oregon by itself. Mr. Calhoun said that the division of this question virtually settled the bill. Mr. Butler wished to know if Mr. Baldwin would be in (avor of a similar bill in regard to California and New Mexico, and Mr. Baldwin answered that he should not.

The question was on Mr. Baldwin answered that he should not.

The question was on Mr. Dickinson defended the committee's bill. It was the result, mot of chance, but of mature deliberation. Mr. Bell said the question was, is it expedient to adopt this compromise to settle this question. Now and the division of this question virtually settled the bill. There was too much excitement all over the country on the subject. With great force and energy Mr. Bell continued his argument against bill. It was the result, mot of chance, but of mature's deliberation. Now adopt this compromise to settle this question. Now be the bill, the argued the bad policy of passing the bill; and said he would prefer the passage of the Wilmot Proviso this very night, to any measure calculated to increase the agitation of the North. Let us rather, said he, have the proviso, and meet the should not.

lows:

Yeas—Messrs. Baldwin, Bradley, Clarke, Corwin,
Davis of Massachusetts, Dayton, Dix, Dodge, Felch,
Fitzgerald, Greene, Hale, Hamlin, Miller, Niles,
Upham, Walker—17.

Nays—Messrs. Allen, Atchison, Atherton, Badger,
Bell, Benton, Berrien, Borland, Breese, Bright, Butler, Calhoun, Clayton, Davis of Mississippi, Dickinson, Douglass, Downs, Foote, Hannegan, Houston,
Douglass, Downs, Foote, Hannegan, Houston, when Mr. Bradbury closes, and finish the work to

TERRITORIAL COMPROMISE BILL.

After sitting all night of Wednesday (last week,)

Mr. Badger of North Carolina spoke at length in Mr. Davis of Mississippi wished to know if the population to the bill. He complained of the bot haste which had marked the action of the committee, and regretted that the bill had been reported without a more severe and deliberate investigation of the Compromise?

Mr. Butler (in his seat.) Certainly not.
Mr. Hamlin. Certainly I would not; and why? For the reason that it was no compromise whatever. It was not in the spirit of the Government or the Constitution.
Mr. Clayton. Did not the Senator vote for a compromise when he voted for the annexation of Texas?
Mr. Hamlin. I will tell the Senator what I did. I vot dagainst the resolutions for annexing Texas, which passed the House, when the resolutious came back from the Senate. I voted for them because they contained a provision for annexing Texas in a constitutional form. But unfortunately the manner pointed in these Senate resolutions was not agreed to. Had it been agreed to, it would have saved the

LIBERATOR.

statute.

Mr. Calhoun said he had the authority of one of the Maryland senators for saying, that Mr. Pinckney, was an abolitionist, and therefore his opinion on such an occasion was not to be taken as of any force.

Mr. Badger said, that if Mr. Calhoun made that charge, he should be prepared to prove it. He thought that the very opinion he had then read conclusively proved that Mr. Pinckney was not an abolitionist.

olitionist.

Mr. Calhoun replied, that he spoke upon information of a Senator from Maryland – (both these Senators were absent at the moment.) But, said Mr. Badger, whether he was or was not an abolitionist, would not affect the weight of his judgment and opinion as a lawyer and a statesman.

Thus, inasmoch as the law was clearly against the South on this suveries.

Thus, inasmuch as the law was clearly against the South on this question, and as the Supreme Court would decide upon the law, he considered this bill as giving up the whole question, and he could not yote for it. He would rather vote for a bill expressly declaring that slavery should be excluded from these territories. That would be plain and honest. He was told that by this bill the honor of the South was saved. He did not perceive it, and was not influenced by the argument.

enced by the argument.

Still he would vote for the bill if he thought it bers.] Still he would vote for the bill it he thought would terminate this dangerous agitation; but he believed it would only exasperate and embitter it.

Mr. Badger concluded with some observations of the expedency and morality of the proposed exclusion of the South, as he termed it, from this terri

The telegraphic report of the New York Expre gives the following vote on the passage of the tary. A portion of Scripture was then read by

YEAS-Messrs Atchison and Benton of Missons Atherton of New Hampshire, Berrien and Johnson of Georgia, Buland Sebastian of Arkansas, Breese and Donglas of Illinois, Bright and Hannegan of Indiana, Butler and Calhoun of South Carolina, Clayton and Spruance of Delaware, Davis and Foote of Mississippi, Dickinson of New York, Downs and Johnston of Louisiana, Houston and Rusk of Texas, Hunter and Mason of Virginia, Johnson of Maryland, King and Lewis of Alabama, Mangum of North Carolina, Phelps of Vermont, Sturgeon of Pennsylvania, Tur-ney of Tennessee, Westcott and Yulce of Flor-

S-nators from the free States in Italies.

Nays-Messrs. Allen and Corwin of Ohio, Badge North Carolina, Baldwin and Niles of Connecti cut, Bell of Tennessee, Bradbury and Hamlin of Maine, Clarke and Greene of Rhode Island, Davis of Massachusetta, Dayton and Miller of New Jersey, Dix of New York, Dodge and Walker of Wisconsin, Fitzgerald and Felch of Michigan, Hale of New Hampshire, Metcaffe and Underwood of Kentucky. Hampshire, Metcalfe an Upham of Vermont-22.

Senators from slave States in Italics.

The Wilmot Proviso was rejected, year 33, nays 21. The bill was passed as reported by the com-mittee, and the Senate adjourned over to Friday.

THE TERRITORIAL BILL.

The vote on the Territorial bill in the Senate stood 33 to 22. Mr. Felch of Michigan, whose name was not mentioned on Saturday, voted with the minority. The absentees were Messra. Cameron of Pennsylvania, Pearce of Maryland, and Webster of Massa-Before the final action on the bill, Mr. Davis of extend.

Yeas-Allen, Atherton, Baldwin, Benton, Brad-

bury, Clarke, Corwin, Davis of Massachusetts, Day-bury, Clarke, Corwin, Davis of Massachusetts, Day-ton, Dix, Dodge, Felch, Fitzgerald, Greene, Hale, Hamlin, Miller, Niles, Spruance, Upham and Walker dictates of experience, that we shall heve no fellow-

Nuss—Atchinson, Badger, Bell, Berrien, Borland, Breese, Bright, Butler, Calhoun, Clayton, Davis of Mississippi, Dickinson, Douglass, Downs, Foote, Hannegan, Houston, Hunter, Johnson of Maryland, Johnson of Lou-siana, Johnson of Georgia, King, Lewis, Mangam, Mason, Metcalf, Rusk, Sebastian, Sturgeon, Turney, Underwood, Westcott and Yulee —33.

Messrs. Cameron, Pearce, Phelps and Webster, absent.] The correspondent of the Commercial states that ver Johnson, J. N. Buffum being in the chair.

and asked— Mr. President, is that the ordinance of 1787? speaking with more than his accustomed emphasis. The President answered in the affirma-

ensued.

Mr. Boyd made a brief and carnest appeal to the House to do something on the settlement of this great question. Something ought to be done to calm the intense agitation which existed throughout the

ontroversy. Mr. McClernand of Illinois made some remarks in mr. C. B. Smith of Indiana, hoped the House

would waste no time in debating such a bill—one that settled nothing, conciliated nobody, and satisfied none. He moved that the bill lie upon the table.

Mr. Bayly of Virginia rose in great apparent excitement, and began to rebuke Mr. Smith for denouncing the bill. He was proceeding with great vehemence, when his voice was absolutely smothered by cries of 'Order,' 'Question,' 'No de-

Many members rose to demand a call of the House.

and one was ordered. Two hundred and nine mem bers answered.

It was now time to adjourn and go home. He re-peated the motion to lay the bill on the table. That motion was put to the vote and carried, ayes 112, nore 97—as follows:—

motion was put to the vote and carried, ayes 112, noes 97—as follows:

Yeas. Free States:—Maine—Belcher, Clapp, Hammons, Suart, Wiley—5 New Hampshire—Peaslee, Tuck—2. Vermont—Collamer, Henry, Marsh, Peck—4. Massachusetts—Abbott, Ashmun, Grinnell, Hale, Hudson, D. P. King, Mann, Paiffey, Rockwell—9. Rhode Island—Cranston, Thurston—2. Connecticut—Dixon, Hubbard, J. A. Rockwell, Truman Smith—4. New York—Collins, Gonger, Duer, Gott, Jenkins, W. T. Lawrence, Kellogg, S. Lawrence, Lord, Maclay, Mullen, Nelson, Nicoll, Petrie, Reynolds, Rose, Sherill, Slingerland, St. John, Starkweather, Sylvester, Tallmadge, Warner, White—29. New Jersey—Gregory, Hampton, Newell, Van Dyke—4. Pennsylvania—Blanchard, C. Butler, Dicky, Echert, Freedley, Hampton, Farrelly, J. R. Ingersoil, Irvine, Mellvaine, Nes, Pollock, Stewart, Strohm, Strong, Thompson, Wilmot—17. Ohio—Canby, Crowell, Duncan, Edwards, Fisher, Evans, Farran, Fries, Lahm, Morris, Sawyer, Taylor, Vinton—14. Indiana—Dunn, Embree, Henley, Caleb B. Smith, R. W. Thompson—5. Illinois—Lincoin, R. Smith, Wentworth—3. Michigan—Bing, Lynde—2. Iowa—Wm. Thompson—1. Total from Free States—104.

Slave States:—Virginia—Pendleton—1. Georgia —Stephens—1. North Carolina—Boyden, Donnell—2. Kentucky—Adams, Buckner, J. B. Thompson —1. The body was recovered the day after.

Free States—104.

Slave States:—Virginia—Pendleton—1. Georgia
—Stephens—1. North Carolina—Boyden, Donnell
—2. Kentucky—Adams, Buckner, J. B. Thompson
—3. Tennesee—Crozier—1. Total 8—(all Wings.)
Total for laying on the table—112.
Navs. Free States:—Maine—Clark, H. Williams—2. New York—Birdsall—1. Pennsylvania—C. Brown, C. J. Ingersoli, J. Mann, R. Brodhead—4. Ohio—Dickinson, Kennon, Miller, Rickley—4. Indiana—Catheart, Pettit, Roomson, Rockhill, Wick
—5. Illinois—Ficklin, McClernand, Richardson, Turner—4. Total from Free States, 21—all Democrate.

crats.
Slave States: - Delaware-Houston-1. Mary-

thus met the issue tendered by Mr. Calhoun and his supporters, and distinctly refused to stand upon the 'platform' erected by them for the South.

He then proceeded to illustrate with great distinctness the fallacy of the above doctrine. He supposed that in the course, perhaps, of the present general general ton, our policy might require that we should by some means obtain possession of an island or futress in the outskirts of the Chinese empire, for the protection of our commerce. If so, could it be supposed that our Constitution would instantly subject that spot to the laws of slavery? We had the constitutional power to acquire territory for many other puposes besides that of making new States. We might hold it, or any part of it, in a state of tutelage, to the laws syllable of recorded time.'

He showed from the records of the Senate, that this doctrine of the constitutional establishment of slavery, without the intervention of law, was entirely new. He spoke of the course of the distinguished Senator Pinckney of Maryland, upon the Missouri compramise, and showed that in his opinion, and that of the body of Southern senators at that time, slavery could only be established by express law or statute.

Mr. Calhoun said he had the authority of one of

Green, Hall, Jameson—4. Arkansas—R. W. Johnson—1. Total, 76.

Total against laying on table, 97—majority for laying on table, 15.

ABSENTEES, OR NOT VOTING:—New Hampshire—J. H. Johnson, J. Wilson—2. Massachusetts—Winterp (Speaker.) no vote. New York—W. Hunt, Murphy, (2 vacancies). New Jersey—Edsall—1. Pennsylvania—Brady, Bridges, LEVIN—3. Ohio—Gummins, Rost—2. lows—Leffler—1. Maryland—Roman—1. Louisiana—Morse—1. Kentucky—Duncan, Gaines—2. Tennessee—Chase, Haskell—2. Missouri—Phelps—1.

Total Absentees—Free States, 11. (besides two vacancies and apeaker not voting); Slave States, 7.

racancies and speaker not voting); Slave States,

The correspondent of the Express writes -The vote was no sooner announced than a dezer members rose to move a reconsideration. Mr. Pol-lock of Pennsylvania submitted the motion, and the yeas and nays were ordered. A motion followed to

yeas and nays were ordered. A motion followed to lay the proposed reconsideration upon the table. The yeas and nays were ordered, and the vote was —yeas 114, nays 96.

[Mr. McLane of Maryland hesitated to vote for a long time upon the bill, but after a long talk with the President's Private Scoretary, gave the vote against laying on the table. The long pause before voting, the importance of the question, the breathless silence in the hall, gave a marked interest to this incident, and it was the common talk of many in the incident, and it was the common talk of many in the hail. I mention it to note how closely every thing was observed. I doubt if any vote ever caused so much or such anxious interest among the mem-

CONVENTION AT BLACKSTONE

The Convention met, according to appointmen at the Town Hall in Blackstone, Sunday, July 23d, and was organized by making choice of Oliver Johnson for President, and Maria L. Southwick, Secre-Samuel May, Jr. Prayer was offered by Adin Ballou. A few remarks were then made by the President. The following resolution was introduced by Samuel May, Jr. :-

Resolved, That although eighteen hundred years have gone since Jesus Christ first taught the people the words and principles of eternal life, it is still necessary to declare and to prove that it is lawful to do well on the Sabbath day; to save life rather than to kill; and to show that God prefers mercy to his children before a multitude of sacrifices an prayers to Himself.

Remarks were then made upon the foregoing esolution by Mr. May, who was followed by James N. Buffum, of Lynn, and John S. Jacobs, a fugitive slave from North Carolina. After a song from the Hopedale friends, the Convention adjourned to meet at the same place at half-past one o'clock.

AFTERNOON.

The Convention was opened with singing. Re narks were then made by Abby K. Foster on the resolution introduced in the morning, and also on the second resolution, introduced by Samuel May, Jr., which is as follows :-

Resolved, That so long as we continue in the present Union, and under the present Constitution of the Union, whereby we are pledged and sworn to the support of slavery, it will be impossible for us to make any effectual resistance to the encroachments of the slave power, or prevent the extension of slavery wherever it is the will of that power to have it

Massachusetts (another account says Mr. Hale, of New Hampshire) moved the Wilmot Proviso, which was rejected by the following vote:—

Resolved, therefore, That the position of the American Anti-Slavery Society is the right and the only effectual stand to take against slavery - No union with slaveholders - for it is alike required by dictates of experience, that we shall have no fellowship with works and deeds which we aim to over

> Remarks were also made by Stephen S. Foster and James N. Buffum.

Remarks by Samuel May, Jr., after which followaddressed by Adin Ballou, who was followed by Oliendinent was moved, Mr. Benton rose S. S. Foster replied. After remarks from various persons, the Convention adjourned sine die.

This was an excellent Convention. Some diffe emphasis. The President answered in the affirmative. Then Mr. Benton replied Avr., with great distinctness and unction of voice.

The House of Representatives disposed of the bill in an exceedingly summary manner. We give the proceedings below:—

Some distribution. Some difference of opinion existed between the speakers as to the exact character of the so-called Free-Soil movement. It was generally, however, looked upon as a hopeful sign of anti-slavery life, though all agreed Mr. McKay moved to take up the Senate bill on the subject of slavery in the territories. A scene of great animation and some excitement immediately willing to unite in compromises with slavery.

The large Town Hall was filled with hearers du ing the morning and afternoon-from 10 o'clock till nearly 5, with an intermission of one hour. A large number attended the evening session.

MARIA L. SOUTHWICK, Secretary P. S. An indecent and untruthful account of this Convention, published in the Boston Atlas last week, is understood to have been written by a son of Senator Davis, resident in Blackstone. We are ashamed and grieved, when we remember the ancestry of that young man .- Lib.

CONVENTIONS IN WORCESTER SOUTH The Conventions in Blackstone and Milford have been held with a success which cheers our friends, and assures us of a wide-spread and increasing inter-

est in the cause of freedom Mr. Stephens of Georgia, then succeeded in making himself heard, and said that this was a great question, which, it was idle to think of settling in this way. The House had no time to consider it. diences as large and as deeply interested as those at Milford and Blackstone, and that an equally good work may be accomplished .- m.

The body was recovered the day after.

TO CORRESPONDENTS. A. W. W .- The proceedings of the Weymo Female Anti Slavery Society and of the Convention next week.

Honestus is received. His fact of the who omitted the 6th verse of the 58th chap, of Isaiah is truly rich.

S. W. W .- His letter shall appear soon.

TO WESTERN SUBSCRIBERS. A Mr. Brooke desires us to request the sul

the Liberator in the West, to come to the unnual meeting in Salem prepared to pay their subscriptions, and to formish him with the names of as many new sub scribers as they can procure. We earnestly hope that his appeal will be responded to.

RALPH W. EMERSON .- This gentleman came a sesenger in the steamship Europa, which arrived at ston last week.

THE MODEL OF ANCIENT JERUSALES has been moved to Manchester N. H. It is to be exhibited in the principal towns in New England, and we hope it will secure as it deserves, a liberal patron-

ONE HUNDRED CONVENTIONS. WESTERN SERIES.

Uzbridge, Saturday evening and Sunday, August 5 and 6 Upton, Saturday evening and Sunday, Aug. 12 and 13.

These Conventions will be attended by LUCY STONE, STEPHEN S. and AURY K. FORTER, and SAN-UEL MAY, Jr.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., General Agent Mass. A. S.

WILLIAM W. BROWN,

A Slave from Missouri, now an Agent of the Mas achusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture in Roxbery, City Hall, Sunday, Aug. 6th.

An Anti-Slavery convention may be expected to be held at Harwich, Barnstable county, about the be held at Harwich, Barnstable county, about the 24th of August, to continue four days.

It is expected that S. S. Foster, Miss Lucy Stone, Parker Pilisbury and William W. Brown will be

CONVENTION AT HARWICH.

The Convention will assemble in a grove about one mile from the Congregational meeting-house TA more definite and particular notice may be looked for next week.

JOSHUA H. ROBBINS, ZEBINA H. SM ISAAC MAYO, SMALL, Committee of Arrangements

ARINGTON

Lewis Haydes, late a slave in Kentucky, will lecture in Abington Town Hall, on Sunday next, (Aug 6.) at 10 1.2 o'clock, A. M., and 1 P. M. Also at South Abington, at 5 o'clock P. M.

Mr. Hayden is recently from Canada, and will give some account of the fugitive slaves there.

For a National Convention of the Friends of Free Soil, at Buffalo, Aug. 9, 1848. The Ohio Free Soil Convention which assembled at Columbus on the 21st, was in session two days. There were about 400 delegates present. Every Congressional District was represented except, one. The Free Soil platform was adopted by acclamation. No more Slave States. No extension of Slavery Territory. No submission to slaveholding. No support to any candidate for President, or any other office, who is not unequivocally devoted to the Free Soil principle.

Free Soil principle.

A National Free Soil Convention was called to A National Pree Soil Convention was cause to meet at Buffalo on the 9th of August next, to nom-inate candidates for President and Vice President. The Western Reserve promises 20,000 majority

or such a ticket. ELEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE E.

P. ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY The Annual Meeting of this Society will be held in the Baptist Church in Norristown, commencing on Wednesday, the 9th day of August, and will on Wednesday, the 9th day of August, and will probably continue during the next two days. To say to Pennsylvania Abolitionists, that this Meeting is an important occasion to our enterprize, is wholly unnecessary. Past experience has demonstrated this. We have only to urge upon them the duty of a punctual attendance upon its sessions. Wm. W. Brown, the well known and alconorticated. a punctual attendance upon its sessions. Wm. W. Brown, the well known and eloquent advocate of the slave's cause, and other friends from abroad, are expected to be present.—Pennsylvania Freeman.

ANNUAL MEETING. The 6th annual meeting of the Western Anti-Slavery Society, will be held at Salem, Columbiana Co., Ohio, on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, the 16th, 17th, and 18th of August, commencing at 10 o'clock,

SAVE THE CRIMINAL. John M. Speak will give a discourse in the Unitarian meeting-house in Brookline, at the usual hour of religious meetings, next Sunday afternoon, on the Duty of Christians to the Prisoner.

EXCURSION FOR POOR CHILDREN. Last summer I enjoyed one of the happiest days of my life, while on a pleasant excursion to a neighboring grove, with the poor children of Boston, and should be glad to enjoy as much one day during the present season, should the friends of the poor think favorably of it. I would make arrangements to carry

several hundred poor children to a grove on WEDNES. DAY MORNING, the 16TH OF AUGUST Any persons who desire to aid in this work, by money or provisions, will please send them to my office, 40 Cornhill, or to my house, 21-2 CENTRAL COUNT, or to John Augustus, Franklin Avenue, or to Lyaender Ripley, Police Office, Broad street. July 19. JOHN M. SPEAR.

ANOTHER LIFE SAVED BY THE USE OF

DR. WISTAR'S BALSAM OF WILD CHERRY. The following certificate is from the wife of Mr. Enoch Perry, a very respectable farmer in Oxford county, Maine, and can be relied upon as true in every particular. It was not solicited, but given by, the lady, from a sense of duty, feeling that she owed the preservation of her life to Dr. Wistar's Balsam of

Wild Cherry.

Rumford, Oxford county, Me., July 22, 1845.
This may certify, that I have for a number of years been severely afflicted with the asthma. In October, 1843, I took a violent cold, which produced a very severe cough, which was accompanied with severe pains in my side, and I sweat profusely nights.
These bad symptoms continued, until I was on much reduced that I was unable to do any work about house, or even walk across the room without assistance. In reduced that I was unable to do any work about house, or even walk across the room without assistance. In July, 1844, I was so afflicted with shortness of breath, such great difficulty in breathing, and in such severe pain, that I was unable to lie in bed or sleep for three weeks. One physician who attended me, and another who was consulted, both gave me up to die—said that they could do no more for me. My friends despaired of my life. I had no hope for myself. I then commenced taking Dr. Wistar's Balsam of Wild Cherry. Before I had taken one bottle, I was able to walk about house. I continued to take the Balsam until I had taken 4 bottles, and now I AM WELL, free from pain, little or no cough, do my own work, free from pain, little or no cough, do my own work, keep no help, and have not enjoyed better health for fifteen years. Signed, RELIANCE PERRY.

None genuine unless signed I. BUTTS on the For sale by SETH W. FOWLE, 138 Washing-ton street, Boston, and by Druggists generally in the United States and British Provinces.

GENTEEL BOARDING HOUSE, MISSES HAYDEN & WHITING,

No. 106 West CEDAR St.

No. 106 West CEDAR St.

Would respectfully inform the public, that
they have opened the above house for the accommodation of those who may favor them with
their patronage, and pledge themselves that no pains
will be spared to render it a pleasant and agreeable
house. Terms moderate.

July 28

STEAM PRESS PRINTING. A Ll. kinds of Book, Job and Newspaper Work, Steam Printing House, No. 11-2 Water st., Boston. gr Particular attention paid to Card Printing.

HOME FOR REFORMERS. THE subscriber has removed to that neat, convenient, and central boarding-house, No. 21-2 CESTRAL COURT, where he will be most happy to welcome some of the Friends of Reform, at reasonable charges. He wishes his house to be the central place in Boston, where the friends of Temperance, Peace, Purity, Freedom, the Prisoner, &c. may meet together, and enjoy a comfortable and quiet home. CESTRAL COURT opens at 238 Washington street.

JOHN M. SPEAR.

Boston, June 22, 1848.

POETRY.

MONCONTOUR.

When the horsemen of Valois triumphantly trod

Oh! weep for Moncontour. Oh! weep for the slain,

One look, one last look, to the cots and the towers,

To the rows of our vines and the beds of our flowers

To the church where the bones of our fathers de

Where we fondly had deemed that our own should

Alas! we must leave thee, dear, desolate home,

To the spearman of Uri, the shavelings of Rome,

To the serpent of Florence, the vulture of Spain,

To the pride of Anjou, and the guile of Lorraine

Farewell to thy fountains, farewell to thy shades,

To the song of thy youths, and the dance of the

To the breath of thy gardens, the hum of thy been

And the long waving line of the blue Pyrenees,

Farewell, and forever. The priest and the slave

May rule in the halls of the free and the brave ;-

Our hearths we abandon ;-our lands we resign ;-

SPRMONS

What sermons have I heard! What cant! what

From bread and butter saps, and beardless boys!

In which the long-eared pedant chants his task,

With which the booby vents his common-place;

Voices which pierce the ear like cobblers' awls,

With nasal bagpipe buzzing out his drone,

'Tis the conceited, nothing-meaning air

Or, if the fool is ' settled,' then the stare

How curious 'tis to watch a lassie's eye, When first the soporific takes effect : The lid will fall, and on its fellow lie;

In vain she tries her senses to collect.

With vapid tropes his emptiness to mask;

Of stultified solidity must clothe his face !

Then the dear creature gives her head a shake,

But all in vain, the dears can't keep wwake,

And tries to find the verse the parson quotes;

While the dry drone in dozing dulness doats

Was meant for you, and struck the proper place

Then the sleep-glimmering eye they open force,

And fix it, with a stare, upon your face, As if some point in th' unheard discourse

At last the rounded chin drops down to meet

There see the saint, chanting a solemn hymn!

The women bustle home in satins fine,

To hear his holy word, and then obey;

To make the Sunday happiest of days.

We want excitement when we go to church!

If Mr. What's-his-name ' looks like a beau !'

Of Gop we never think-His name's not heard

Such showers of logic, eloquence and rant?

All else is wanting, thinks the serious mind-

The deepest thoughts aye simplest language find.

With heartfelt prayer and praise we ever please;

THE BONDMAN.

Feebly the bondman toiled.

Then to his wretched cot

How doth his free-born soul

Pine 'neath his chain !

Long ere the break of day,

He spends his last breath :

When, when, Oh Lord! will right

Roused from repose,

Till after its close-

Praying for freedom

Liberty ! Liberty !

Give me, or death.

Triumph o'er wrong?

Tyrants oppress the weak,

. Hark! Hark! a peal resounds

From shore to shore-

Gleams from the East-

To freedom's loud call-

Be firm, be unyielding, if you would succeed,

Clung to its base, it greets the sunrise still.

But only crow-bars loose the bull-dog's grip;

Small as he looks, the jaw that never yields

See you tall shaft ; it felt the earthquake's thrill.

Stick to your aim; the mongrel's hold will slip,

Drags down the bellowing monarch of the fields

RULES FOR SUCCESS.

Tyranny ! Tyranny !

Thy reign is o'er. E'en now the morning

Despots are feeling Their triumph is past-

Liberty ! Liberty !

Full and for all.

And never falter in a righteous deed :

Mournfully crept :

Slavery ! Slavery !

Wearily toiling

Dark is thy reign

Sadly he wept-

The hungry maw of sophistry and cant.

Earnestness, sincerity; not having these,

Poor antiquated fools! Behind the age!

We judge of preachers as if on a stage.

We go to see if Mr. This or That

If Mr. Thingumbob is lean or fat-

And for an actor, not a parson, search

Preaches in better style than Mr. So!

If such a preacher has a darling hand ;

If this one wore a surplice, or a band :

Is not our duty plain? or does it need

Our duty is to pray, and not to feed

Ain- ' Tronbadour.'

Or such another's voice is 'like a bird!

With sourcest temper off a cold joint dine-

From hoards of cheated orphans comes his wealth His face, on Sundays, sanctified and prim;

On week-days, grovelling in his kindred filth!

Of wives the sulkiest, but of saints the best!

Abroad the prophet, but at home the pest!

Why do we go to church? Oh! some would say,

To render thanks to God-to hymn his praise;

The rising bosom, welcoming its guest;
The blue-veined cyclids close the twilight sweet,

And, awsetly soothed, the maiden sinks to rest!

From children who still cry for nursery toys: 'Tis not the length, nor yet the heartless tone,

But, Father, we kneel to no altar but thine.

Oh! weep for the living, who linger to bear

The renegade's shame, or the exile's despair.

cayed,

be laid.

maids,

drawls.

THE CHINA TEA COMPANY

No. 198 Washington street.

AVE now been established six years; they deal only in Tea and Coffee, keep every variety of Black and Green Tea imported into this country, and deal for Cash only.

The success which has attended their efforts during this time is without a parallel. They now offer for the inspection of Dealers, one of the largest and provided stocks in the country, at they most varied stocks in the country, at their principal warehouse, 198 WASHINGTON STREET, and solicit country traders, before purchasing their supplies, to call at this

Great Tea Warchouse.

Whilst at the same time, to accommodate families and hotel keepers, they offer FIVE POUND LOTS, as follows.—

5 lbs. Ningyong Oolong, an extra black Tea, 5 lbs. Strong Young Hyson,

5 lbs. Young Hyson, delicious flavor, 2 25 5 lbs. super. Old Hyson, ouchong, (sold elsewhere 50 cts. per 5 lbs. Se lb...) 10 lbs. good ground Coffee,

An experienced and native China-man appein tends the Tea department. Money can be sent by mail, by friends coming to the city, or by Express men, and the package will be sent by return. No travelling agent is employed by the Company. Strangers visiting the city are invited to call.

Agents are appointed in every town, upon application, post paid, to the proprietors, to whom is given THE GREATEST ADVANTAGE IN PRICE, AND EVERY SECURITY AS TO QUALITY. AND EVERY SECURITY AS TO QUALITY. In consequence of the great reduction in the price of Teas and Coffees, we are enabled to give

EXTRA QUALITIES for the old prices; and it is acknowledged by many persons, that they cannot get so good Tea of any kind,

PAY WHAT PRICE THEY MAY, as the Young Hyson at 50 cents, and the Ningyong Oolong, at 40 cents, which are sold at

198 Washington street, REDDING & CO.

ISAAC H. SNOWDEN. Book, Newspaper, and Fancy Job Printer,

All orders promptly attended to and acatly

Rooms IN CAMBRIDGEPORT. A Parlor and Chamber, or Chamber alone, to let in a pleasant location (not far from the City Hall) in Cambridgeport, to a gentleman and wife, or single gentleman, with or without board. Address Lock box No. 5, Boston Post Office. May 12

WM. W. BROWN! A FUGITIVE SLAVE FOR sale at this Office, a Lecture delivered before The Female Anti-Slavery Society of Salem, at Lyceum Hall, Nov. 14, 1847, by Wim. W. Brown, a Fugitive Slave—5 cents single, 50 cents a dozen, and \$3 50 a hundred.

NEW AND IMPORTANT WORK. MAN-MIDWIFERY EXPOSED, and the Ed. ucation and Employment of Midwises Advo-cated. By Samuel Gregory, A. M. Fifty large oc-tavo pages—price 25 cts. For sale at 25, Cornhill.

MEDICATED INHALATION. IN PULMONARY COMPLAINTS, BRONCHITIS ASTHMA, CHRONIC AFFECTIONS AND DIGESTIVE ORGANS.

DR. FROST CAN BE CONSULTED BY PATIENTS AT HIS OFFICE.

No. 57 Cambridge Street, BOSTON.

WHERE he treats the above Complaints by W new and-decided improved method, by which the Patient is principally released of the nauseating that the healthy parts of the system need not test-fected and sickened by the curative remedy, thus giving a practical remedy to the disease, and leaving nature to pursue its true course. Patients out of the city are requested to be as minute as possible in the detail of their cases, as to the duration of their conplaints, the symptoms, age, habits of living, occuption, &c. Address Post Pain-advice gratis,

Note.—The most prevalent of all diseases incident to our climate,—CONSUMPTION,—may generally be traced to a slight cold. By an estimate not ion since made, it appears that upwards of ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND die annually of Pulmonery Complaints. IP TAKE HEED, DELAYS ARE DANGEROUS. 1908

ISAAC CALDWELL'S Genteel Boarding House,

Removed from No. 20 Butolph-street, to No. 12 be knap-street, near Cambridge-street. C. would respectfully inform the public, that he Le has fitted up and opened his house to accomme date with Board and Lodging those who may favo him with their patronage. He respectfully solicited share. No pains will be spared to render it in every way a pleasant and agreeable house. Terms med havil in

NEW BOOKS.

SOME Thoughts on the most Christian use of the Sunday. A Sernon preached at the Melodeon, on Sunday, Jan. 30, by Theodore Parker. Price, 15

Pious Frands: or the admissions of the Church

Pious Frauds: or the admissions of the Cherch against the Inspiration of the Bible. By Parket Pillsbury. Price 10 cents.

Narrative of Henry Watson, a Fugitive Slave written by himself. Price 12 1.2 cents.

Just published, and for sale by Bela Marsh, No. 25 Cornhull, where may also be had Mr Prince's excellent work on the History of the Bible.

April 7th.

3m

NEW BOOKS.

NEW BOOKS.

Cornhill, viz

The Liberty Bell for 1848. A few copies remain.
Life of Wan. W. Brown, 2nd Edition, with addition
al matter and new engravings. Price, bound, 21
1-2 cts.—in paper covers, 25 cts.

Mr. Shackford's Appeal in regard to the War with
Mexico—12 1-2 cts.

Mexico-12 1-2 cts.

Dick Crowninshield the Assassin, and Zachary Tay

lor the Soldier; the Difference between them. 9] Hanry C. Wright—3 cts. single, 25 cts. per deuth ix Months at Graefenberg. By Henry C. Wright

DR. JONAS W. CHAPMAN,

OF unrivalled reputation as a THOMSONIAN
OF PHYSICIAN in this city, may be consulted
daily at his office, Temple street, second door from
Cambridge street.
Dr. C. having been many years associated with
Dr. Samuel Thomson, the discoverer and founcer

Dr. C. having been many years associated will be a system of medical practice which bears in name, has nad signal opportunities of pericting himself in this important and popular science, and is now attending physician in many families in which bears in the property of the property of

During his long experience as a Physician. I.

C. has been called to attend many cases which haffled the skill of the most eminent physician the Old School, and numerous patients can be consulted on application at the office. sulted on application at the office.

Midwiferr is peculiarly successful under this treatment, and the mother that has been treated and the old and the new systems, is always redy to give her testimony in favor of the new, and against the old mineral practice.

THE NEW MEDICAL ESTABLISHMENT

at the corner of Cambridge and Temple streets, constantly supplied with all the vegetable remein which are contained in Thomson's Materia Reliable The ANTI-SCORBUTIC SYRUP, for scrolled the contained to the con

fections;
The RENOVATING PILLS, for pervouses dizziness and costiveness; and
The VEGETABLE RESTORATIVE, for indi-Are medicines that need but a single trial to e tablish their value.

Office, recollect, is at the Corner of Cambridge and Temple streets.

Jan. 24

REFORMATORY.

UNION FREE-PRODUCE SOCIETY. CHESTER Co., Pa., 16th 7th mo., 1848.

Macaulay's other 'Song of the Hugnenots,' called ' lvry'-Now glory to th Lord of Hosts, from whom all glories are -is familiar to all. The following is RESPECTED FRIEND GARRISON :-I was appointed by the Union Free-Produce Se the companion piece to it. Moncontour in Poicton ciety to forward the enclosed communication to thee, was the scene of a disastrons defeat of the Hugueand request thee to give it a place in the Liberato nots, in 1569, under Coligni, a leader said to be more By so doing thee will confer a particular favor upon the members of said society, and, as we trust, terrible after a defeat than most others after a vichasten the day of the slave's deliverance.

The members of this society are all ' no unionists, Oh! weep for Moncontour. Oh! weep for the hou and some of them come-outers from the pro-slavery When the children of darkness and evil had power; church; therefore they embrace the doctrine of abstinence as a part and parcel of their anti-slavery On the bosoms that bled for their rights and their

They are not of the class who embrace abstinence Who for faith and for freedom lay slaughtered in nect it with the 'No union and come-outer' doctrine. As ever, thine for the right,

ELI HAMBLETON. Wu. L. GARRISON.

At a meeting of the Union Free-Produce Society of Chester Co., Pa., the 2d of 7th mo., 1848, the following report was received from a committee appointed for that purpose, unanimously adopted, and

directed to be published : -Liberator of March 5th, 1847.

time been energetically and devoutly engaged for used." 'It is sad to think how much of violence the overthrow of slavery, and one whose moral vis- and injustice enters into their cultivation, but it out the doctrine, 'No union with slaveholders,' his hire, and innocently by no other persons.'

tention.' 'There were a thousand strong and vital be innocent, only by the performance of the above

1831, and ask the candid inquirer to contrast the sen- innocent cohelper in sustaining slavery? timents which were then given forth as self-evident Our friend says he must abhor oppressi

pirate who has plundered vessels on the high seas, either for his own consumption, or for traffic. and pay him liberally for so doing, is he not a pirate Now, if the mere fact of a man abhorring slavery, himself in principle?' 'Is it true that the receiver earnestly endeaving to overthrow it, &c. &c., will is as bad as the thief?' 'Is not the man who bribes obliterate or do away all the guilt and responsibility his companion to stab a third person to the heart the attached to the consumption of slave produce; then, greatest criminal of the two, though he shed no will not the same degree of devotion manifested greatest criminal of the two, though no sucu no blood?' 'There can be no difficulty here.' 'Every on the part of the man who purchases the counter-

body will answer in the affirmative.' . These are feit coin, or the man who procures the stolen sheep, self-evident truths.' 'Now for the application.' exonerate them from the guilt and responsibility of not to fulfil any prophecy; not on the ground of be- stealing? What says the eloquent and devoted nevolence; not because their liberty would be dan. Thompson, in regard to the motive which gave rise gerous; no such thing; but because they are profita- to the enslavement of our fellow-men? In a speech ble to their owners.' 'Who are the principal con- delivered on the subject of Free Trade with India, sumers of the products of slave labor?" 'The free he says-'A single glance at the origin of negro States.' 'They furnish a good market for the slavery will suggest the remedy that ought to be ap-South. What is this but putting an immense bribe plied. The slavery and the slave trade of the into the hands of the slaveholders to kidnap, steal Western world began in a desire to obtain by forced and oppress?' 'Were it not for our patronage, they labor the products of the earth. The Spaniards enbe compelled to liberate their slaves. prophecy of Mr. Randolph will then be fulfilled- mines, and enrich themselves with the precious ores the slaves will not run away from their masters, but which they extracted. A similar motive led to the the masters from their slaves.' 'We are, then, the enslavement, and brought about the extermination. warmest and most efficient supporters of slavery, of the Caribs of the West India Islands. The intro and feel no compunctious visitings of conscience in duction of the sugar-cane, and the demand for its purchasing those things which are stolen, and produce, led to the trade in slaves with Africa; and which have been moistened with the tears and blood the enslavement of seven millions of Africans and of the slave.' 'If the receiver is as bad as the their descendants, at the present time, and all the

tributed to a fund for supporting slavery with all its they would periah from the earth.' abominations - that the slave-dealer, the slavehold. And what were the words of the venerable Clarker and the slave-driver are virtually the agents of son, in reference to the same subject in 1840? the consumer,' and the 'abettors of crime are as 'How, then, says he, can you get at these (Amer of moral character;' ' it is wasting time upon what deavor, by all justifiable means, to affect their tem no man could strictly reduce to practice, and that poral interest. You must endeavor, among other tous practices by calling the attention of the people as adduced by Thompson in the beforementioned this one ceil, while there are so many strong and the human family-a weed destined to make a new self-evident truths, because of its complexity and difficulty to carry out, then we do not see why the their liberty or independence for five years, without

gument? Are not the cases parallel?"

porting slavery by bribing the slaveholder to kidnap, of the Holy Land may bathe in the sacred Jordan, steal and oppress, without incurring any guilt, then and take comfort from the belief that he has washed we do not see but the same plea may be urged in away his sins; the Hindoo may worship the Lotus, support of this slaveholding government and its under the idea that Vishnu created Brahama from pro-slavery churches. But we think neither sound its unfolded flowers; but a genuine slaveholder in logic nor pure anti-slavery will justify the abettor in South Carolina will ever look with reverence to the

cases which do not admit of clear demonstration, protect him from the grasping avarice and financia and hence must be left to the individual conscience; fury of modern Society. If he expects to preserve and in order to evade responsibility he quotes the following text: To him that esteemeth any thing to them to posterity, he must teach his children to hold be unclean, it is unclean. He that doubteth is con- the cotton plant in one hand, and the sword in the

him the motive to plunder and oppress? matter is to be left alone to the self-perverted conscience to decide, then may not the same be said of every other question? for this is the text which is quoted by the pro-slavery politicians and sectarians as a justification for their refusal to join in the anti-If our friend Garrison can find any justification for as the only means for the overthrow of slavery; the omission of many known duties. It is urged but they are of that class who think it right to conthat there is a lack of charity manifested towards

the consumption of slave produce in the above text. we think it may be tortured into a justification for those who do not see that duty requires them to abstain from the use of slave products, on the part of those who do.' To this allegation we would only remark, the same is said of the great body of abolitionists by the slaveholder and his apologist, and they alike prefer the charge of acting with a zeal not ascording to knowledge, however well in-It is said, the soil of a fast portion of this great nation is cultivated by slave labor.' 'The principal

Review of Wm. L. Garrison's opinions on the use staple is cotton, the subordinate ones sugar and rice. of the products of slave labor, as set forth in the 'These are all good, the gifts of a beneficent Creator.' If their consumption tended to injure the The committee to whom was referred the subject health and degrade the morals of the consur would remark, that while attempting a refutation of then, by the law of self-preservation, and by the rule the sentiments of one who has for such a lapse of of moral obedience, they could not be innocently ion in most cases seems so clear, they are aware they seems to us, other things being equal, they may be subject themselves to the most severe scrutiny; but innocently used by those who abhor oppresson, believing that fidelity to the slave demands a more by those who are earnestly endeavoring to overthrow vigorous effort on the part of abolitionists to carry it, and who maintain that the laborer is worthy of commercially as well as ecclesiastically and politi- think our friend has fairly admitted in the foregoing, cally; they are willing to abide the issue.

Our friend Garrison says, 'At an early period of tice which enter into the cultivation of slave-grown the anti-slavery enterprise, we were led for a time products, render their use unjustifiable, other than to regard the use of slave productions as personally by the fulfilment of certain requisites on the part of involving a direct support of the slave system; but the consumer. It is asserted, that no person can we were soon satisfied that we erred in judgment on this subject, that it was wasting time upon what no man could strictly reduce to practice, and that nother operations, who are earnestly endeavoring to overthrow it, and who maintain that the laborer is ing could be gained by pressing it upon public at- worthy of his hire. If, then, consumption cannot issues that could be made with the slave power, and conditions, the argument appears conclusive, that we deemed it far more important to grapple with the consumer either gives his sanction or support to these than raise questions of conscience which no their cultivation, or he has no moral right to procure casuistry could settle like a moral axiom.' The foregoing are some of the prominent reasons mains to be shown, that the fulfilment of the condiour friend gives in 1847 for changing his belief and tions specified in which we may innocently use these course of action in regard to the doctrine of absti-nence. We subjoin some of his sayings on the same subject, as published in the Liberator for April 23d, And what is it that qualifies a man for becoming an

truths ' to his mind, with the reasons above quoted must 'earnestly endeavor to overthrow it,' &c. &c., and then he may innocently do that which will In 1831 our friend says, 'The abettors of crime strengthen and enlarge that desire, which George are as guilty as the perpetrators. The assertions Thompson of Great Britain says was the cause of the which have been made are true - that the consum- enslavement of the Mexicans by the Spaniards-the ers of the productions of slave labor contribute to a enslavement of the Caribs of the West India islands, fund for supporting slavery with all its abominations and the enslavement of seven millions of Africans - that they are the Alpha and the Omega of the bu- and their desendants at the present time. Now, if siness - that the slave-dealer, the slaveholder and this be sound reasoning with regard to the evil of the slave-driver, are virtually the agents of the con- slavery, will not the same apply with equal force in sumer, for by holding out the temptation, he is the original cause, the first mover in the horrid process is earnestly endeavoring to overthrow it, maintains -that we are called upon to refuse those articles of that the laborer is worthy of his hire-then he may luxury which are obtained at a lavished and absolute innocently go to this hand of counterfeiters, purchase waste of the blood of our fellow men - and that a their spurious coin, and use it for his own support, in merchant who loads his vessel with the proceeds of order to enable him the more vigorously to carry slavery, does nearly as much at helping forward the out his doctrine of 'abhorrence' to the system of slave-trade as he who loads his vessel in Africa with counterfeiting ?- Or if a man 'abhors' sheep-stealslaves; they are both twisting the same rope at dif- ing, is 'earnestly endeavoring to overthrow it,' &c A few interrogations will suffice to &c., he may go to the company who make it their illustrate this business.' 'If a merchant patronize a business to steal sheep for the market, and purchase

ndage?' Certainly aiding and abetting 'The slaved the Mexicans, that they might work them in thief, surely he is more criminal who gives a yearly existing horrors and atrocities of the African slave salary to the robber.' 'Is there any flaw in the ar- trade are founded upon the desire to realize the profits which are obtainable by the growth and sale of fine What are the reasons given to show that our articles-sugar, coffee, cotton, rice and tobacco. friend 'erred in judgment' when he declared that Were the demands for these to cease, the nourishthe consumers of the productions of slave labor con- ment and vitality of these systems would cease, and

guilty as the perpetrators?" Says he, 'It is the dis- jean planters) so as to influence their conduct? There on of a subject which is entangled with inex- is but one way; you must endeavor to make them tricable difficulties, therefore cannot be made a test feel their guilt in its consequences. You must ennothing could be gained by pressing it upon public things, to have the produce of free tropical labor attention.' It seems to us our friend has fallen into brought into the markets of Europe, and undersell the same error as our pro-slavery preachers and pol- them there, and if you can do this, your victory is iticians, when they attempt to justify their iniquisure.' Again, what is the testimony of the South, to the manifold evils that abound in the land, and at speech, which he says was given through the press tempt to prove that slavery has become so interwov- of New Orleans? Say they, 'By the blessing of en and incorporated into every department of socie- heaven, the Southern planter is enabled to raise the ty that it is useless to spend time in grappling with noblest weed that was ever given for the comfort of vital issues' to be made for the universal redemption era in the modern commerce, if those who raise it of man. If the doctrine of abstinence is to be re- have spirit and virtue enough to scorn and defy the nounced and no longer considered as based upon barking and speculating quacks of the day. I have McDuffies and the Calhouns may not resort to the cotton. It is that which gives us our energy, our same logic in renouncing and abandoning those enterprise, our intelligence, and commands the retruths which were enunciated to be 'self-evident' in gard of foreign powers. The Egyptian may look 76. with devotion to his Nile, as the source of the power If it be true that we may knowingly abet in sup- and wealth of Egypt; the pilgrim and inhabitant cotton plant as the source of his power and his lib-Our friend says, 'we have felt it to be one of those erty. All the parchments upon earth could never

demmed if he eat, because he eateth not of faith.

One man believe that he may est all things, another who is weak eateth herbs Let every man be fully persoaded in his own mind. Now if it will not admit of clear demonstration, that we are required to cease from abetting or sustaining the slaveholder in his wrong, will it not admit of a more

ther, ever ready to defend it. The late Dr. Chandra and slave trade and slave trade and slave trade is carried to cease from abetting or sustaining the slaveholder in his wrong, will it not admit of a more American flag, and are aided by American merebantmen, and it is feared by American capital. And this is not all; the sugar, in producing which so many of our fellow-creatures perish miserably, is shipped in great quantities to this country. We are the consumers, who stimulate by our demand this infernal cruelty. And knowing this, shall we become accessories to the murder of our brethren, by continuing to use the fruit of the hard-earned toil which destroys them? The sugar of Cuba comes to us drenched with human blood;—so we ought to see it, and turn from it with loathing. The guilt which produces it ought to be put down by the spontaneous in favor of the use of slave produce, giving the motive, to enslave and oppress; shall we abandon the determined and the produces of each with the produces, and they are to put into force the clause of the decree which assimilates the maker of a barricade to the insurgent taken with arms. Before, this barricade can be at once shot.

The chief events which have taken place, have been the proceedings of the National Assembly in the laws of what is called a police aimple; but now any man assisting in forming a barricade can be at once shot.

The chief events which have taken place, have been the proceedings of the National Assembly in the section of surface and they are to put into force the clause of the decree which assimilates the maker of a barricade to the insurgent taken with arms. Before, this barricade to the laws of what is called a police aimple; but now any man assisting in forming a barricade can be at once shot.

The chief events which have taken place, have been the proceedings of the National Assembly in the constant of the laws of the place and the place and the place are to put into force the clause of the decree which assimilates the maker of a barricade to the insurgent taken with arms. Before, this barricade to the insurgent taken with a place and the place are to put into force the clause of the decree which have taken place, are the place and the place are t

The chief events which have taken place, have tive, to enslave and oppress; shall we abandon the doctrine of abstinence, because of the many difficulties and besetmets with which we are surrounded?

No, no; but let us put on the whole armor of truth, and gird anew for the conflict, having full assurance in the doctrine—'Be ye not partakers in other men's sins.'

BENJAMIN KENT, President,

BENJAMIN KENT, President, LYDIA C. HAMBLETON, Secretary.

For the Liberator. SABBATIZING. &c.

S BBATIZING, &c.

*Warning to Sabbath Breakers.—James S. Wheeler, a young man of about 18 years of age, was drowned near Braham's Baths at about 9 o'clock Sunday forenoon. The body has been sent to his parents in South Berwick, Me. He was a clerk in Clapp's thread store, 307 Washington street.

The above paragraph appeared in the 'Daily American Signal,' of July 18th, a paper published in Boston and edited by that Reverend and holy humbug, Charles W. Denison. Under the editorial head of the state of the fore the force they came upon us;

American Signal, of July 18th, a paper published in Boston and edited by that Reverend and holy humburg, Charles W. Denison. Under the editorial head of the 'Signal' is blazoned the name of the human bloodhound, Zachary Taylor, as candidate for the Presidency of the United States. The Rev. Mr. Denison, a professed minister of the Gospel of Peace, and Love, and Forgiveness, is supporting faylor with 'all his might and main,' writing fulsome and foolish puffs of the hard old fighter, and indulging in boyish, rowdy boasting, about 'Rough and Ready,' &c.;—and when he hears that a young clerk, who probably was obliged to be almost incessantly at his post, in the store, all the week, chances to be accidentally drowned, while bathing on Sunday morning, about nine o'clack, perhaps his first leisure time, before the 'holy Sabber day meetings' commenced, he immediately chronicles the circumstance under the head of 'Warning to Sabbath Breakers'! And yet the political priest who thus insults the common sense of mankind, is supporting for the Presidency a man who fought three or four different battles upon Sunday, and was upon that day publicly escorted through the streets of New Orleans, with martial music and the discharge of cannon! What consummate impudence and hy-received. This Rev. Mr. New Orleans, with martial music and the discharge of cannon! What consummate impudence and hypocrisy! This Rev. C. W. Denison once pretended to be an anti-slavery man, and in 1844 supported the nominees of the Liberty Party. O tempora! O mores!

ANTI-HUMBUG.

From the Boston Courier.

ARRIVAL OF THE EUROPA!

The new steamship Europa, Capt. Lott, from Liverpool, July 15, arrived on Thursday morning, at 6 o'clock, baving made the passage in eleven days on the standard of the control of the control

6 o'clock, having made the passage in eleven days and three quarters, oesides losing some 12 hours by the fog. The political news, both from Great Britain and the Continent, is of little importance; the arrest of the Irish leaders for sedition being the only measure which provoked any excitement. erpool, July 15, arrived on Thursday morning, at 6 o'clock, having made the passage in eleven days and three quarters, oesides losing some 12 hours by fog. The political news, both from Great Britain

resure which provoked any excitement.

The commercial intelligence appears favorable.

IRELAND. In addition to the arrests of Charles Gavan Duffy of the 'Nation,' John Martin of the 'Irish Felon,' Williams and O'Dougherty of the 'Tribune' newspapers,—already announced by the news brought by the United States,—Thomas Francis Meagher, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, E. Hollywood, and Mr. Dehon, leading members of the 'nhysical Grees' with of the 'Nation,' John Martin of the 'Irish Felon,' Williams and O'Dougherty of the 'Tribune' newspapers,—already announced by the news brought by the United States,—Thomas Francis Meagher, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, E. Hollywood, and Mr. Dehony, leading members of the 'physical force' agitators, have been arrested for seditious writing and speaking. Mr. Meagher was at Waterford, his father's residence, preparing for a visit to America, and was to have come out in the Europa, when he was arrested and conveyed to Dublin under military guard. Mr. Dehony was arrested at Cashel, where he had been lecturing to the people on their right to govern themselves, and was rescued from the police by the people, but subsequently gave himself up. Mr. M'Gee is one of the editors of the Dublin Nation, and was formerly editor of the Boston Pile.

We have no real and vital power, then, but that which the clubs have, or may have, and we must hold them fast, or all is gone. " There is at present no law enabling the Irish Government to put down the clubs. It they attempt to do so without a law, they ought to be resisted at every po nt of attack. No club room ought to be yielded without a siege. If they ask an act of Parliament, it cannot pass under ten days or a fortnight; if there were six honest and capable Irish members, it would not pass this session. But the interval, whatever it may be, the need in spreading the club organization will be arrest, the officer proceeded to his house, on the corner of Ninth and Chambers street, and found the child lying on the floor, quite dead! The mother was absent.—[St. Louis New Era.

Paper-Making.—We were informed a few days since, by a large paper dealer in this city, that i was not at all uncommon for him to have in his warehouse, and sell, at 9 o'clock in the morning warehouse, and sell, at 9 o'clock in the morning ought to be used in spreading the club organization with the furor of a crusade. If the act become law, and our last right is stricken down, the presidents of clubs in Ireland might meet as a provisional council, summon the country around them, and recouncil, summon the country around them, and recountry around the sist the aggression with arms. No fairer ground of national quarrel can ever arise. It is a ground broad enough and clear enough for a battle field—for it in one mill, during the past 18 years, eighty-two of the choys, and four hundred and five 'girls' employed the choys, and four hundred and five 'girls' employed the choys, and four hundred and five 'girls' employed the choys, and four hundred and five 'girls' employed the choys, and four hundred and five 'girls' employed the choys is the choys and four hundred and five 'girls' employed the choys is the choys and four hundred and five 'girls' employed the choys is the choys are the choy

FRANCE.

From Paris, advices to the evening of the 13th

independent nation, by recognising the envoys who have been despatched to Paris from Paler-

o.

Chapman, of the Indianapolis Sentinel, says tha Mr. Van Buren has 'the mark of Cain upon his policione, the sister of Louis on his back.—[Louisville Journal.

The clubs of Toulouse have decreed the dissolution The cluos of foundes have decreed the dissolution of the National Assembly, and the condemnation to death of Gen. Lamoriciere.

The government has declared against the proposition of M. Julus Favre for confiscating the private property of Louis Philippe.

The assembly voted, by an immense majority, on Wednesday, the establishment of a permanent eamp of 50,000 men in Paris.

of 50,000 men in Paris.

A project is in contemplation for establishing a system of medical treatment of the poor, which it is calculated may be done at an average cost of 3 france per head per annum, invalids being attended at their homes.

omes. The insurgents who were stationed in the Jardin

From St. Croix.—Suppression of the Insurrection. Captain Shunk, of the schooner Providence, from Bartholomews, confirms the previous accounts as to the rising of the blacks in the Danieh isle of St. Croix,

'I started for Taos, on the first of June; I met the Apaches at the foot of the mountain, waiting for u

the all those who were disabled were to be supported by their former masters, and this the whites protest the offences of Messrs. Meagher, McGee and Hally wood being only for sedition, were bailable.

Mr. Hoben, the registered printer of the 'Tribune,' but also been arrested but was refused and be are to be supported by their former masters, and this the whites protest against; contending that if the slaves were set free, but wood being only for sedition, were builded.

Mr. Hoben, the registered printer of the 'Tribune,' Jour of Com.

Mr. Hoben, the registered printer of the 'Třibune,' had also been arrested, bail was refused, and he was committed to Newgate prison to stand trial for felony in August, at which time Messrs. Duffy, Martin, Williams and O'Dogherty are also to be tried.

Dublin is much excited by the late arrests. The Commissioners of Police issued a placard cautioning news venders against selling 'felonious and seditious' papers, as they would thereby render themselves liable to prosecution.

Mr. Duffy, although confined in 'a felon's cell, has again, addressed the readers of the Nation 'on the point of attack, the clubs.' He says—

We have no real and vital power, then, but that

A Fiend.-Henry Van Casten was arrested and which the clubs have, or may have, and we must lodged in the calaboose, charged with beating his hold them fast, or all is gone. * * There is at wife and child in a cruel and fieudish manner. After

paper which was in rugs a hundred and fifty miles from New York at 9 o clock of the previous morning A better illustration of the power of st could not be given, or of the progress of the age.

involves, practically, the last right we possess—the 'boys,' and four hundred and five 'girls' emp right to complain and resist. When it is gone, we there, have been married; and from another will have thrown away the sword and shield. We one hundred and eighty-seven of the girls have one hundred and eighty-seven of the girls have been married during five years; and from a single room in another corporation, twenty-eight were married in

The arrests continue to be most numerous. Every body is talking of a conspiracy discovered by the government, but with regard to which no one has any precise information to offer. A certain uneasingle serious was felt leat some demonstration should be made on Friday, but the presence of a large army in the capital, and the operation of martial law, ought to satisfy the timid that nothing serious need be apprehended.

A Viantetr.—A beautiful instrument for measuring the distance which may be travelled by a carriage, either in a hour or a day, has been shown to us by our townsman, Samuel J. Gummere. It can be attached with very hitle trouble to the wheel of any vehicle, and at the close of a day's journey will indicate to one inch whole distance travelled during the day.—[Burlington Gazette.] A Viameter .- A beautiful instrument for measur

Four camps were being organised at the four cardinal points of Paris, which are to contain each 15,000 men, and to be commanded in chief by General Oudinot.

The number of persons applying at Paris for passports to foreign countries has lately been so great. The number of persons applying at raris for pass-ports to foreign countries has lately been so great, that two new doors have been added to the passport office. The passport of the passport

The Aspirated 'H.'-Mrs. Crawford says she wro one line in her song, 'Kathleen Mavourneen, for the express purpose of confounding the cockney warblers, who sing it thus:— 'The 'orn of the 'unter is 'eard on the 'ill;'

But Moore has laid the same trap in 'The Wood 'A 'art that is 'umble might 'ope for it 'ere.'

And the Elephant confounds them the other way —for though no poet, yet he has a spare rhyme now and then when it suits him: A Helephant heasily heats at his hease, Hunder humbrageous humbrella trees. Elephant

probe of we interest the burger t